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OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Present Perils from England and France—The Nature and Conditions of Intervention by Mediation—And also by Recognition—The Impossibility of Any Recognition of a New Power with Slavery as a Corner-Stone—And the Wrongful Concession of Ocean Belligerency.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Delivered at the Cooper Institute, Sept. 10, 1863.

As large an audience as could crowd itself, without regard to physical comfort, into the hall of the Cooper Institute, was attracted thither last evening by the announcement that our Foreign Relations would be discussed by the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER. A topic so opportune, to be treated by an orator so distinguished—whose official position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, makes him, probably, the fittest man to speak intelligently on so grave a matter—was more than sufficient to assemble the best representatives of the wealth, the culture and the influential folk of the City. All the most notable and honored of the metropolis were there; and gentle beauty was also brilliantly represented—the fair sex bravely defying the crush to listen and be edified. There was not "a riotous face among them."

The orator was introduced by DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, Esq., in a few brief and pertinent remarks.

Mr. SUMNER was received with several hearty rounds of applause, and entering at once upon his theme, he continued to hold the attention of his hearers enchained during the two hours and a half that he occupied in the delivery of his discourse.

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH.

FELLOW CITIZENS: From the beginning of the war in which we are now engaged, the public interest has alternated anxiously between the current of events at home and the more distant current abroad. Foreign Relations have been hardly less absorbing than Domestic Relations. At times the latter have seemed to wait upon the former, and a packet from Europe has been like a messenger from the seat of war. Rumors of Foreign Intervention are constant, now in the form of Mediation and now in the form of Recognition, and more than once the country has been summoned to confront the idea of England, and of France too, in open combination with Rebel Slavemongers to blasting, in the name of Slavery, to build an infamous Power on the destruction of the Republic.

It may be well for us to turn aside from battle and siege here at home—from the blazing lines of Gettysburgh, Vicksburgh and Charleston—to glance for a moment at the perils from abroad; of course I mean from England and France, for these are the only Foreign Powers that thus far have been moved to intermeddle on the side of Slavery. The subject to which I now invite attention may not have the attraction of waving standards or victorious marches, but, more than any conflict of arms, it concerns the Civilization of the age. If Foreign Powers can justly interfere against Human Freedom, this Republic will not be the only sufferer.

There is always a natural order in unfolding a subject, and I shall try to pursue it on this occasion, under the following heads:

First—The perils to our country from Foreign Powers, especially as foreshadowed in the unexpected and persistent conduct of England and France since the outbreak of the war.

Secondly—The nature of Foreign Intervention by Mediation, with the principles applicable thereto, as illustrated by historic instances—showing especially how England, by her conspicuous, wide-spread and most determined Intervention to promote the extinction of African Slavery, *is irrevocably committed against any act or policy that can encourage this criminal pretension.*

Thirdly—The nature of Foreign Intervention by Recognition, with the principles applicable thereto, as illustrated by historic instances—showing that by the practice of nations, and especially by the declared sentiments of British Statesmen, there *can be no Foreign Recognition of an insurgent Power where the contest for Independence is still pending.*

Fourthly—The moral impossibility of Foreign Recognition, even if the pretended Power be *de facto* Independent, where it is composed of Rebel Slavemongers seeking to found a *new* Power with Slavery for its declared "corner-stone." Pardon the truthful plainness of the terms which I employ. I am to speak not merely of Slaveholders; but of people to whom Slavery is a passion and a business—therefore Slavemongers; now in Rebellion for the sake of Slavery—therefore rebel Slavemongers.

Fifthly—The absurdity and wrong of conceding *Ocean Belligerency* to a pretended Power, which, in the first place, is without a Prize Court—so that it cannot be an Ocean Belligerent *in fact*—and which, in the second place, even if Ocean Belligerent *in fact*, is of such an odious character, that its Recognition is a moral impossibility.

From this review, touching upon the present and the past, leaning upon history and upon law, enlightened always by principles which are an unerring guide, our conclusion will be easy.

[I.]

PERILS FROM FOREIGN POWERS.

The perils to our country, as foreshadowed in the action of Foreign Powers since the outbreak of the war, first invite our attention.

There is something in the tendencies of nations, which must not be neglected. Like individuals, nations influence each other; like the heavenly bodies, they may be disturbed by each other in their appointed orbits. This is apparent even in peace, but it becomes more apparent in the convulsions of war, sometimes from the withdrawal of customary forces and sometimes from their increased momentum. It is the nature of war to enlarge as it continues. Beginning between two nations, it gradually widens its circle, sucking other nations into its fiery maelstrom. Such is human history. Nor is it different, if the war be for Independence. Foreign Powers may for a while keep out of the conflict; but the examples of history show how difficult this has been.

The Seven United Provinces of Holland, under that illustrious character, WILLIAM of Orange, the predecessor and exemplar of our WASHINGTON, rose against the dominion of Spain, upheld by the bigotry of PHILIP II., and the barbarity of his representative, ALVA; but the conflict, though at first limited to the two parties, was not slow to engage Queen ELIZABETH, who lent to this war of Independence the name of her favorite LEICESTER and the undying heroism of SIDNEY, while Spain retorted by the Armada. The United Provinces of Holland, in their struggle for Independence, were the prototype of the United States of America, which I need not remind you, drew into their contest the arms of France. Spain and Holland. In the rising of the Spanish Colonies which followed, there was less interposition of other nations, doubtless from the distant and outlying position of these Colonies, although they were not beyond the ambitious reach of the Holy Alliance, whose purposes with regard to them were so far thwarted by Mr. CANNING, backed by the declaration of Mr. MUNROE—known as the MUNROE doctrine—that the British statesman felt authorized to boast that he had called a New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. Then came the struggle for Greek Independence, which, after a conflict of several years, darkened by massacre, but relieved by an exalted self-sacrifice, shining with names like BYRON and BOZZARIS, that cannot die, at length challenged the powerful interposition of England, France and Russia. The Independence of Greece was hardly acknowledged, when Belgium, renouncing the rule of the Netherlands, claimed hers also, and here again the Great Powers of Europe were drawn into the contest. Then came the effort of Hungary, inspired by KOSSUTH, which, when about to prevail, aroused the armies of Russia. There was also the contemporaneous effort of the Roman Republic, under MAZZINI, which, when about to prevail, aroused the bayonets of France. And lastly, we have only recently witnessed the resurrection of Italy, inspired by GARIBALDI, and directed by CAVOUR; but it was not accomplished until LOUIS NAPOLEON, with his well-trained legions, carried the imperial eagles into the battle.

Such are famous instances, which are now so many warnings. Ponder them and you will see the tendency, the temptation, the irresistible fascination, or the commanding exigency under which, in times past, Foreign Nations have been led to take part in conflicts for Independence. I do not dwell now on the character of these various interventions, although they have been mostly in the interest of Human Freedom. It is only as examples to put us on our guard that I now adduce them. The footprints all seem to lead one way.

But even our war is not without its warnings. If thus far in its progress other nations have not interposed, they have not succeeded in keeping entirely aloof. The foreign trumpet has not sounded yet: but more than once the cry has come that we should soon hear it, while incidents have too often occurred, exhibiting an abnormal watchfulness of our affair and an uncontrollable passion or purpose to intermeddle in them, with signs of untriendly feeling. Of course this is applicable especially, if not exclusively, to England and France.

PERILS FROM ENGLAND.

1. There is one act of the British Cabinet which stands foremost as an omen of peril—foremost in time—foremost also in the magnitude of its consequences. Though plausible in form, it is none the less injurious or unjustifiable. Of course, I refer to that inconsiderate Proclamation in the name of the Queen as early as May, 1861, which, after raising Rebel Slavemongers to *an equality* with the National Government in Belligerent Rights, solemnly declares "Neutrality" between the two *equal parties*; as if the declaration of equality was not an insult to the National Government, and the declaration of neutrality was not a moral absurdity, offensive to reason and all those precedents which make the glory of the British name. If the Proclamation could be otherwise than improper at any stage of such a Rebellion, it was worse than a blunder at that early date. The apparent relations between the two Powers were more than friendly. Only a few months before the youthful heir to the British throne had been welcomed everywhere throughout the United States—except in Richmond—as in the land of kinsmen. And yet immediately after the tidings of the rebel assault on Fort Sumter—before the National Government had begun to put forth its strength—and even without waiting for the arrival of our newly-appointed Minister, who was known to be at Liverpool on his way to London, the Proclamation was suddenly launched. I doubt if any well-informed person who has read Mr. DALLAS' dispatch of the 2d of May, 1861, recounting a conversation with the British Minister, will vindicate it in point of time. Clearly, the alacrity of this concession was unhappy, for it bore an air of defiance, or at least of heartlessness toward an ally of kindred blood engaged in the maintenance of its traditional power against an infamous pretension. But it was more unhappy still, that the good genius of England did not save this historic nation, linked with so many triumphs of freedom, from a fatal step, which, under the guise of "neutrality," was a betrayal of civilization itself.

It is difficult to exaggerate the consequences of this precipitate, unfriendly and immoral concession which has been and still is an overflowing mountain of misbelief and bloodshed—*hac fonte derivata clades*—*first*, in what it vouchsafes to Rebel Slavemongers on sea and in British ports, and, *secondly*, in the impediments which it takes from British subjects ready to make money out of Slavery;—all of which has been declared by undoubted British authority. Lord CHELMSFORD, of professional renown as Sir FREDERICK THESIGER, an Ex-Chancellor, used these words recently in the House of Lords: "If the Southern Confederacy had not been recognized as a *Belligerent Power*, he agreed with his noble and learned friend (Lord BROUGHAM), that, under these circumstances, if an Englishman were to fit out a privateer for the purpose of assisting the Southern States against the Northern States, *he would be guilty of piracy.*" But all this was changed by the Queen's Proclamation. For the Rebel Slavemonger, there is the recognition of his flag; for the British subject there is the opportunity of trade. For the Rebel Slavemonger there is fellowship and equality; for the British subject there is a new customer to whom he may sell Armstrong guns and other warlike munitions of choicest British workmanship, and as Lord PALMERSTON tells us, even ships-of-war, too, *to be used in behalf of Slavery.* What was unlawful is suddenly made lawful, while the ban is taken from an odious felony.

It seems almost superfluous to add that such a concession, thus potent in its reach, must have been a direct encouragement and overture to the Rebellion. Slavery itself was exalted when barbarous pretenders—battling to found a new Power in its hateful name—without so much as a single port on the ocean where a prize could be carried for condemnation—were yet, *in the face of this essential deficiency*, swiftly acknowledged as *ocean* belligerents, while, as a consequence, their pirate ships, cruising for plunder in behalf of Slavery, were acknowledged as National ships, entitled to equal privileges with the National ships of the United States. This simple statement is enough. It is vain to say that such a concession was a "necessity." There may have been a strong temptation to it, constituting, perhaps, an imagined necessity, as with many persons there is a strong temptation to Slavery itself. But such a concession to Slave-mongers, fighting for Slavery, can be vindicated only as Slavery is vindicated. As well undertake to declare "neutrality" between Right and Wrong—between Good and Evil—with a concession to the latter of Belligerent Rights, and then set up the apology of "necessity."

(2.) It was natural that an act so essentially unfriendly in character, and also in the alacrity with which it was done, should create throughout England an unfriendly sentiment toward us, easily stimulated to a menace of war. And this menace was not wanting soon afterward, when the two rebel emissaries on board the *Trent* were seized by a patriotic, brave commander, whose highest fault was that, in the absence of instructions from his own Government, he followed too closely British precedents. This accident—for such it was, and nothing else—was misrepresented, and, with an utterly indefensible exaggeration, was changed by the British nation, backed by the British Government, into a *casus belli*, as if such an unauthorized incident, which obviously involved no question of self-defence, could justify war between two civilized Nations. And yet, in the face of a positive declaration from the United States that it was an accident, the British Government *made preparations to take part with rebel slave mongers*, and it fitly began such ignoble preparations by keeping back from the British people the official dispatch of 30th November, 1861, where our Government, after announcing that Capt. WILKES had acted "without any instructions," expressed a trust that "the British Government would consider the subject in a friendly temper," and promised "the best disposition on our part." It is painful to recall these things. But they now belong to history, and we cannot forget the lesson they teach.

(3.) But this tendency to espouse the side of Slavery, appears in small things, as well as great, becoming more marked in proportion to the inconsistency involved. Thus, for instance, where two British subjects "suspected" of participation in the Rebellion were detained in a military prison, without the benefit of *habeas corpus*, the British Minister at Washington was directed, by Her Majesty's Government to complain of their detention *as an infraction of the Constitution of the United States*, of which this intermeddling Power assumed for the time to be the "expounder;" and the case was accordingly presented on this ground. But the British cabinet, in its instinctive aptness to mix in our war, if only by diplomatic notes, seemed to have forgotten the British Constitution, under which, in 1848, with the consent of the leaders of all parties—BROUGHAM and DERBY, PEEL and D'ISRAELI—the *habeas corpus* was suspended in Ireland and the Government was authorized to apprehend and detain "such persons as they shall suspect." The bill sanctioning this exercise of power went through all its stages in the House of Commons in one day, and on the next day it went through all its stages in the House of Lords, passing to be a law without a dissenting vote. It will hardly be believed that Lord RUSSELL, who now complains of our detention of "suspected" persons, as an infraction of the Constitution of the United States, was the Minister who introduced this Bill, and that on the occasion he used these words: "I believe in my conscience that this measure is calculated to prevent insurrection, to preserve internal peace, *to preserve the unity of this empire* and to save the throne of these realms and the free institutions of this country."

(4.) The complaint about the *habeas corpus* was hardly answered when another was solemnly presented, on account of the effort to complete the blockade of Charleston by sinking at its mouth ships laden with stone, usually known as the "stone blockade." In common times, Her Majesty's Government would have shrunk from any intermeddling here. It could not have forgotten that history, early and late, and especially English history, abounds in similar incidents; that as long ago as 1456, at the siege of Calais by the Duke of Burgundy, and also in 1628, at the memorable siege of Rochelle by Cardinal RICHELIEU, ships laden with stone were sunk in the harbor; that during the war of the Revolution, 1778, six vessels were sunk by the British commander in the Savannah River, not far from this very Charleston, as a protection against the approach of the French and American naval forces; that in 1804, under the direction of the British Admiralty, an attempt was made to choke the entrance into the harbor of Boulogne by sinking stone vessels, and that in 1809 the same blockade was recommended to the Admiralty by no less a person than Lord DUNDONALD, with regard to another port, saying: "Ships filled with stones will ruin forever the anchorage of Aix, and some old vessels of the line well loaded would be excellent for the purpose." But this complaint by the British Cabinet becomes doubly strange, when it is considered that one of the most conspicuous treaties of modern history contained solemn exactions by England from France, that the harbor of Dunkirk, whose prosperity was regarded with jealousy, should be permanently "filled up," so that it could no longer furnish its accustomed hospitalities to commerce. This was the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. But by the Triple Alliance, only four years later, France was constrained to stipulate again that nothing should be omitted "which Great Britain could think necessary for the entire destruction of the harbor," and the latter Power was authorized to send commissioners as "ocular witnesses of the execution of the Treaty." These humiliating provisions were renewed in successive treaties down to the peace of Versailles in 1783, when the immunity of that harbor was recognized with American Independence. But Great Britain, when compelled to open Dunkirk, still united with the Dutch in closing the Scheldt, or, as a British writer expresses it, she "became bound *to assist in obstructing this navigation.*" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. x., p. 77, article, France.) One of the two reasons put forth by Great Britain for breaking peace with France in 1792, and entering upon that world-convulsing war, was that this revolutionary Power had declared it would open the Scheldt. And yet it is Great Britain, thus persistent in closing ports and rivers, that now interferes to warn us against a "stone blockade."

(5.) The same propensity and the same inconsistency will be found in another instance, where an eminent peer, once Foreign Secretary, did not hesitate, from his place in Parliament, to charge the United States with making medicines and surgical instruments contraband, "contrary to all the common laws of war, *contrary to all precedent, not excluding the most ignorant and barbarous ages.*" Thus exclaims the noble lord. Now I have nothing to say as to the propriety of making these things contraband. My simple object is to exhibit the spirit against which we are to guard. It would be difficult to believe that such a display could be made in the face of the historic fact, exposed in the satire of Peter Plymley's Letters, that, Parliament, in 1808, by large majorities, prohibited the exportation of Peruvian Bark into any territory occupied by France, and that this measure was introduced by no less a person than Mr. PERCIVAL, and commended by him on the ground that "the severest pressure was already felt on the Continent from the want of this article, and that it was of great importance to the armies of the enemy." (*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.*) Such is authentic British precedent, in an age neither "ignorant" nor "barbarous," which is now ostentatiously forgotten.

(6.) This same recklessness, which is of such evil omen, breaks forth again in a dispatch of the Foreign Secretary, where he undertakes to communicate to Lord LYONS the judgment of the British Cabinet on the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. Here, at least, you will say, there can be no misunderstanding and no criticism; but you are mistaken. Such an act, having such an object, and being of such unparalleled importance, would, under any ordinary circumstances, when great passions found no vent, have been treated by the Minister of a foreign Power with supreme caution, if not with sympathy; but, under the terrible influence of the hour, Lord RUSSELL, not content with condemning the Proclamation, misrepresents it in the most barefaced manner. Gathering his condemnation into one phrase, he says that it "makes Slavery at once legal and illegal," whereas it is obvious, on the face of the Proclamation, to the most careless observer, that, whatever may be its faults, it is not obnoxious to this criticism, for it makes Slavery legal nowhere, while it makes it illegal in an immense territory. An official letter, so incomprehensible in motive, from a statesman usually liberal if not cautious, must be regarded as another illustration of that irritating tendency which will be checked only when it is fully comprehended.

(7.) The activity of our navy is only another occasion for criticism in a similar spirit. Nothing can be done any where to please our self-constituted monitor. Our naval officers in the West Indies, acting under instructions modeled on the judgments of the British Admiralty, are reprehended by Lord RUSSELL in a formal dispatch. The judges in our Prize Court are indecently belittled by this same Minister from his place in Parliament, when it is notorious that there are several who will compare favorably with any British Admiralty Judge since Lord STOWELL, not even excepting that noble and upright magistrate, Dr. LUSHINGTON. And this same Minister has undertaken to throw the British shield over a newly-invented contraband trade with the rebel slave-mongers *via* Metamoras, claiming that it was "a lawful branch of commerce," and "perfectly legitimate trade." The *Dolphin* and *Peterhoff* were two ships elaborately prepared in London, for this illicit commerce, and they have been duly condemned as such; but their seizure by our cruisers was made the occasion of official protest and complaint, with the insinuation of "vexatious capture and arbitrary interference," followed by the menace, that, under such circumstances, "it is obvious Great Britain must interfere to protect her flag."

(8.) This persistent, inexorable criticism, even at the expense of all consistency or of all memory, has also broken forth in forms incompatible with that very "neutrality" which was so hastily declared. It was bad enough to declare neutrality, when the question was between a friendly Power and an insulting Barbarism; but it was worse after the declaration to depart from it, *if in words only.* The Court of Rome, at a period when it powerfully influenced the usage of Nations, instructed its Cardinal Legate, on an important occasion, first and above all things to cultivate "indifference" between the parties; and in this regard its conduct was to be so exact, that not only should no partiality be seen in his conduct, but it should not be remarked even *in the words of his domestics.* (Wicquefort, Parfait Ambassadeur, Liv. ii., p. 144.) If in that early day, before steam and telegraph, or even the newspaper, neutrality was disturbed by "words," how much more so now, when every word is multiplied indefinitely, and wafted we know not where—to begin, wherever it fails, a subtle, widespread and irrepressible influence. But this injunction is in plain harmony with the refined rule of Count BERNSTORF, who, in his admirable dispatch on this subject, at the time of the Armed Neutrality, says sententiously, "Neutrality does not exist *when it is not perfect.*" It must be clear and above suspicion. Like the reputation of a woman, it is lost when you begin to talk about it. Unhappily, there is too much occasion to talk about the "neutrality" of England. I say nothing of a Parliamentary utterance that the National cause was "detested by a large majority of the House of Commons," or of other most unneutral speeches. I confine myself to official declarations. Here the case is plain. Several of the British Cabinet, including the Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, two great masters of "words," have allowed themselves in public speeches to characterize offensively our present effort to put down Rebel Slavemongers, as "a contest for empire on one side and for independence on the other." Here were "words," which, under a specious form, were understood to give encouragement to Rebel Slavemongers. But they were more specious than true—revealing nothing but the side espoused by the orators. Clearly on our side it is a contest for National life, involving the liberty of a race. Clearly on the other side it is a contest for Slavery, in order to secure for this hateful crime *new* recognition and power. Our Empire is simply to crush Rebel Slavemongers. Their Independence is simply the unrestrained power to whip women and sell children. Even if at the beginning the National Government made no declaration on the subject, yet the real character of the war was none the less apparent in the repeated declarations of the other side, who did not hesitate to assert their purpose to build a new Power on Slavery—as in the Italian campaign of LOUIS NAPOLEON against Austria, the object was necessarily apparent, even before the Emperor tardily at Milan put forth his liberating Proclamation that Italy should be free from the Alps to the Adriatic, by which the war became, in its declared purpose, as well as in reality, a war of Liberation. That such a Rebellion should be elevated by the unneutral "words" of a Foreign Cabinet, into a respectability of which it is obviously unworthy, is only another sign which we must watch.

(9.) But these same orators of the British Cabinet, not content with giving us a bad name, have allowed themselves to pronounce against us on the whole case. They declared that the National Government cannot succeed in crushing Rebel Slavemongers, and that dismemberment is inevitable. "JEFFERSON DAVIS," says one of them, "has created a *nation.*" Thus do these representatives of declared "neutrality" degrade us and exalt Slavery. But it is apparent that their annunciation, though made in Parliament and repeated at public meetings, was founded less on any special information from the seat of war, disclosing its secret, than on political theory, if not prejudice. It is true that our eloquent teacher, EDMUND BURKE, in his famous letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, argued most persuasively that Great Britain could not succeed in reclaiming the colonies, which had declared themselves independent. His reasoning, rather than his wisdom, seems to have entered into and possessed the British statesmen of our day, who do not take the trouble to see that the two cases are so entirely unlike that the example of the one is not applicable to the other; that the colonies were battling to found a *new* Power on the corner-stone of "liberty, equality and happiness to all men," while our Slavemongers are battling to found a *new* Power on the corner-stone of "Slavery." The difference is such as to become a contrast—so that whatever was once generously said in favor of American Independence now tells with unmistakable force against this new-fangled pretension.

No British statesman saw the past more clearly than Lord RUSSELL, when long ago, in striking phrase, he said that England, in her war against our fathers, "had engaged *for the suppression of Liberty*;" (*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 2d series, Vol. viii. p. 1,036, April 16, 1823,) but this is precisely what Rebel Slavemongers are now doing. Men change; but principles are the same now as then. Therefore, do I say, that every sympathy formerly bestowed upon our fathers, now belongs to us their children, striving to uphold their work against bad men, who would not only break it in pieces, but put in its stead a *new* piratical Power, whose declared object is "the suppression of Liberty." And yet British Ministers, mounting the prophetic tripod, presume most oracularly to foretell the doom of this Republic. Their prophecies do not disturb my confidence. I do not forget how often false prophets have appeared—including the author of the Oceana, who published a demonstration of the impossibility of monarchy in England only six months before CHARLES II. entered London amidst salvoes of cannon, and the hurrahs of the people. Nor do I stop to consider how far such prophecies uttered in public places by British Ministers are consistent with British "neutrality" which is so constantly boasted. Opinions are sometimes allies more potent than subsidies, especially in an age like the present. Prophecies are opinions proclaimed and projected into the future, and yet these are given freely to Rebel Slavemongers. There is matter of reflection in this instance, but I adduce it now only as another illustration of the times. Nothing can be more clear than that whosoever assumes to play the prophet becomes pledged in character and pretension to sustain his prophecy. The learned JEROME CARDAN, professor and doctor, and also dabbler in astrology, of great fame in the middle ages, undertook to predict the day of his death, and he maintained his character as a successful prophet by taking his own life at the appointed time. If British Ministers, who have played the prophet, escape the ordinary influences of this craft, it will be from that happy nature, which has suspended for them human infirmity and human prejudice. But it becomes us to note well the increased difficulties and dangers to which on this account the National cause is exposed.

(10.) But it is not in "words" only,—of speeches, dispatches or declarations,—that our danger lies. I am sorry to add that there are acts also with which the British Government is too closely associated. I do not refer to the unlimited supply of "munitions of war," so that our army at Charleston, like our army at Vicksburgh, is compelled to encounter Armstrong guns and Blakeley guns, with all proper ammunition, from England; for the right of British subjects to sell these articles to Rebel Slavemongers was fixed when the latter, by sudden metamorphosis, were changed from lawless vagrants of the ocean to lawful Belligerents. Nor do I refer to the swarms of swift steamers, "a pitchy cloud warping on the Eastern wind," always under the British flag, with contributions to Rebel Slavemongers; for these, too, enjoy a kindred immunity. Of course no Royal Proclamation can change wrong into right, or make such business otherwise than immoral; but the Proclamation may take from it the character of felony.

But even the Royal Proclamation gives no sanction to the preparations in England of a *naval expedition* against the commerce of the United States. It leaves the Parliamentary Statute, as well as the general Law of Nations, in full efficacy to restrain and punish such an offence. And yet in the face of this obvious prohibition, standing forth in the text of the law, and founded in reason "before human statute purged the common weal," also exemplified by the National Government, which, from the time of WASHINGTON, has always guarded its ports against such outrage, powerful ships have been launched, equipped, fitted out and manned in England, with arms supplied at sea from another English vessel, and then, assuming that by this insulting *hocus pocus* all English liability was avoided, they have proceeded at once to rob and destroy the commerce of the United States. *England has been their naval base* from which were derived the original forces and supplies which enable them to sail the sea. Several such ships are now depredating on the ocean, like Capt. KIDD, under pretended commissions—each in itself a *naval expedition.* As England is not at war with the United States, these ships can be nothing else than pirates; and their conduct is that of pirates. Unable to provide a Court for the trial of prizes, they revive for every captured ship the barbarous *Ordeal of Fire.* Like pirates, they burn all they cannot rob. Flying from sea to sea, they turn the ocean into a melting-pot of American commerce. Of these incendiaries the most famous is the *Alabama*, with a picked crew of British sailors, with "trained gunners out of her Majesty's naval reserve," and with everything else, from keel to topmast, British; which, after more than a year of unlawful havoc, is still burning the property of our citizens, *without once entering a Rebel Slavemonger port*, but always keeping the umbilical connection with England, out of whose womb she sprung, and never losing the original nationality stamped upon her by origin, so that at this day she is a British pirate ship—precisely as a native-born Englishman, robbing on the high seas, and never naturalized abroad, is a British pirate subject.

"It is bad enough that all this should proceed from England. It is hard to bear. Why is it not stopped? One cruiser might perhaps elude a watchful Government. But it is difficult to see how this can occur once—twice—three times; and the cry is still they sail. Two powerful rams are now announced, like stars at a theatre. Will they too be allowed to perform? I wish there were not too much reason to believe that all these performances are sustained by a prevailing British sympathy. A Frenchman, who was accidentally a prisoner on board the *Alabama* at the destruction of two American ships, describes a British packet in sight whose crowded passengers made the sea resound with cheers as they witnessed the captured ships handed over to the flames. The words of Lucretius were verified: *Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri.* But these same cheers were echoed in Parliament, as the outlier of the piratical craft gloried in his deed. The verse which filled the ancient theatre with glad applause is now given to Slavery and its defenders. "I am an Englishman, and nothing of Slavery is foreign to me." Accordingly Slavery is helped by English arms, English gold, English ships, English speeches, English cheers. And yet for the honor of England, let it be known, that there are Englishmen who have stood firm and unshaken amidst this painful recreancy. Their names cannot be forgotten. And still more for the honor of England, let it be spoken that the working classes, who were called to suffer the most, have bravely borne their calamity, without joining with the enemies of the Republic. Their cheers have been for Freedom and not for Slavery.

But the cheers of the House of Commons seem to prevail in Her Majesty's Government. Municipal Law is violated, while International Law, in its most solemn obligation to do unto others as we would have them do unto us, is treated as if it did not exist. Eminent British functionaries vindicate the *naval expeditions*, which, *in the name of Slavery*, have been unleashed against a friendly Power. Taking advantage of an admitted principle, that "munitions of war" may be supplied, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer tells us, that "ships-of-war" may be supplied also. Lord PALMERSTON echoes the Lord Chief Baron. Each vouches American authority. But they are mistaken. The steel which they strive to "impel" cannot be feathered from our sides. Since the earliest stage of its existence the National Government has asserted a distinction between the two cases, and so has the Supreme Court, although there are words of STORY which have been latterly quoted to the contrary. But the authority of the Supreme Court is positive on both the points into which the British apology is divided. The first of these is that, even if a "ship of war" cannot be furnished, the offence is not complete until the armament is put aboard, so that where the ship, though fitted out and equipped in a British port, awaits her armament at sea, she is not liable to arrest. Such an apology is an insult to the understanding and to common sense—as if it was not obvious that the offence begins with the laying of the keel for the hostile ship, *knowing it to be such*; and in this spirit the Supreme Court has decided that it "was not necessary to find that a ship on leaving port was armed or in a condition to commit hostilities;—for citizens are restrained from such acts as are calculated to involve this country in a war." (United States *vs.* Quincy, 6 Peters, 445.) The second apology assumes that, even if the armament were aboard so that the "ship of war" was complete at all points, still the expedition would be lawful, if the juggle of a sale were adroitly employed. But on this point the Supreme Court, speaking by Chief Justice MARSHALL, has left no doubt of its deliberate and most authoritative judgment. In the case before the Court, the armament was aboard, but cleared as cargo; the men too were aboard, but enlisted for a commercial voyage; the ship, though fitted out to cruise against a nation with which we were at peace, was not commissioned as a privateer, and did not attempt to sail as such until she had reached the River La Plata, *where a commission was obtained and the crew recruited*, yet, in the face of these extenuating circumstances, it was declared by the whole Court that the neutrality of the United States had been violated, so that the guilty ship could not afterward be recognized as a legitimate cruiser. All these disguises were to no purpose. The Court penetrated them every one, saying that if such a ship could lawfully sail there would be on our part "a fraudulent neutrality, disgraceful to our Government, of which no nation would be the dupe." (*The Gran Para*, 7 Wheat, 471, and *also four other cases in same volume.*) But "a neutrality" worse even than that condemned in advance by our Supreme Court, "of which no nation would be the dupe," is now served out to us, which nothing but the fatal war spirit that has entered into Great Britain can explain. There was a time when the Foreign Secretary of England, truly eminent as statesman and as orator, Mr. CANNING, said in the House of Commons: "If war must come, let it come in the shape of satisfaction to be demanded for injuries, of rights to be asserted, of interests to be protected, of treaties to be fulfilled. *But, in God's name, let it not come on in the paltry, pettifogging way of fitting out ships in our harbors to cruise for gain. At all events, let the country disdain to be sneaked into a war.*" (Canning's Speeches, Vol. v., p. 51.) These noble words were uttered in reply to Lord JOHN RUSSELL and his associates in 1823, on their proposition to repeal the Foreign Enlistment Act and to overturn the statute safeguards of British neutrality. But they speak now with greater force than then.

Even if it be admitted that "ships of war," like "munitions of war," may be sold to a Belligerent, as is asserted by the British Prime Minister, echoing the Lord Chief Baron, it is obvious that it can be only with the distinction, to which I have already alluded, that the sale is a *commercial transaction*, pure and simple, and not, in any respect, a *hostile expedition* fitted out in England. The ship must be "exported" as an *article of commerce*, and it must continue such *until* its arrival at the belligerent port, where alone can it be fitted out and commissioned as a "ship of war," when its hostile character will commence. Any attempt in England to impart to it a hostile character, or, in one word, to make England its *naval base*, must be criminal; but this is precisely what has been done. And here are the leonine footprints which point so badly.

(11.) But not content with misconstruing the decisions of our Supreme Court, in order to make them a cover for *naval expeditions* to depredate on our commerce, our whole history is forgotten or misrepresented. It is forgotten, that, as early as 1793, under the administration of WASHINGTON, before any Act of Congress on the subject, the National Government recognized its liability, under the Law of Nations, for ships fitted out in its ports to depredate on British commerce; that WASHINGTON, in a Message to Congress, describes such ships as "vessels commissioned or *equipped in a warlike form*, within the limits of the United States," and also as "military expeditions or enterprises." (*American State Papers*, Vol. i. p. 22,) and that JEFFERSON, in vindicating this policy of *expression*, said, in a letter to the French Minister, that "it was our wish to preserve the morals of our citizens from being vitiated by courses of lawless plunder and murder;" (*Ibid*, 148,) that, on this occasion the National Government made the distinction between "munitions of war" which a neutral might supply in the way of commerce to a belligerent, and "ships of war," which a neutral was not allowed to supply, or even to augment with arms; that Mr. HAMMOND, the British Plenipotentiary at that time, by his letter of 8th May, 1793, after complaining of two French privateers fitted out at Charleston, to cruise against British Commerce, expressly declares that he considers them "breaches of that neutrality which the United States profess to observe, and direct contraventions of the Proclamation which the President had issued." (*Wharton's State Trials*, p. 49,) and that very soon there were criminal proceedings, at British instigation, on account of these privateers, in which it was affirmed by the Court, that such ships could not be fitted out in a neutral port without a violation of international obligations; that, promptly thereafterward, on the application of the British Government, a statute was enacted, in harmony with the Law of Nations, for the better maintenance of our neutrality; that, in 1818, Congress enacted another statute in the nature of a Foreign Enlistment Act, which was proposed as an example by Lord CASTLEREAGH, when urging a similar statute upon Parliament; that in 1823 the conduct of the United States on this whole head was proposed as an example to the British Parliament by Mr. CANNING; that in 1837, during the rebellion in Canada, on the application of the British Government, and to its special satisfaction, as was announced in Parliament by Lord PALMERSTON, who was at the time Foreign Secretary, our Government promptly declared its purpose "to maintain the supremacy of those laws which had been passed to fulfill the obligations of the United States toward all nations which should be engaged in foreign or domestic warfare;" and, not satisfied with its existing powers, undertook, for additional legislation from Congress, that Congress proceeded at once to the enactment of another statute, calculated to meet the immediate exigency, wherein it was provided that collectors, marshals and other officers shall "seize and detain *any vessel* which may be provided or prepared for *any military expedition* or enterprise against the territories or dominions of any Foreign Prince or Power. (Statutes at Large, Vol. v, p. 212.) It is something to forget these things; but it is convenient to forget still further that, on the breaking out of the Crimean War, in 1854, the British Government, jointly with France, made another appeal to the United States that our citizens "should rigorously abstain from taking part in armaments of Russian privateers, or in any other measure opposed to the duties of a strict neutrality," and this appeal, which was declared by the British Government to be "in the spirit of just reciprocity," was answered on our part by a sincere and determined vigilance, so that not a single British or French ship suffered from any cruiser fitted out in our ports. And it is also convenient to forget still further the solemn obligations of Treaty, binding on both parties, by which it is stipulated, "That the subjects and citizens of the two nations *shall not do any acts of hostility or violence against each other*, nor accept commissions or instructions so to act from any foreign Prince or State, enemies to the other party; nor shall the enemies of one of the parties enter admitted to invite or endeavor to enlist in their military service any of the subjects or citizens of the other party; *and the laws against all such offences and aggressions shall be punctually executed.*" (Statutes at Large, Vol. viii., p. 127.)

But at the date of this Treaty, in 1794, there was little legislation on the subject in either country; so that the Treaty, in harmony with the practice, testifies to the requirements of the Law of Nations, as understood at the time by both Powers.

And yet, forgetting all these things—which show how faithfully the National Government has acted, both in measures of *repression* and measures of *compensation*—also, how often the British Government has asked and received protection at our hands, and how highly our example of neutrality has been appreciated by leading British statesmen—and forgetting also that "spirit of just reciprocity" which, besides being the prompting of an honest nature, had been positively promised—ship after ship is permitted to leave British ports to depredate on our commerce; and when we complain of this outrage, so unprecedented and so unjustifiable, all the obligations of International Law are ignored, and we are petulantly told that the evidence against the ships is not sufficient *under the statute*; and when we propose that the statute shall be rendered efficient for the purpose, precisely as in past times the British Government, under circumstances less contingent, proposed to us, we are peremptorily repelled by the old baronial declaration, that there must be no change in the laws of England, while to cap this strange insensibility, Lord PALMERSTON, in one of the last debates of the late Parliament, brings against us a groundless charge of infidelity to our neutral duties during the Crimean war, when the fact is notoriously the reverse, and Lord RUSSELL, in the same spirit, imagines an equally groundless charge, which he records in a dispatch, that we have recently enlisted men in Ireland, when notoriously we have done no such thing. Thus, all the obligations of reciprocal service and good will are openly discarded, while our public conduct, as well in the past as the present, is openly misrepresented.

(12.) This flagrant oblivion of history and of duty, which characterizes the action of the British Government, has been characteristically followed by a flat refusal to pay for the damages to our commerce caused by the hostile expeditions. The United States, under WASHINGTON, on the application of the British Government, made compensation for damages to British commerce under circumstances much less vexatious, and, still further, by special treaty, made compensation for damages "by vessels originally armed" in our ports, which is the present case. Of course, it can make no difference—not a pin's difference—if the armament is carried out to sea in another vessel from a British port, and there transhipped. Such an evasion may be effectual against a Parliamentary statute, but it will be impotent against a demand upon the British Government, according to the principles of International law; for this law looks always at the *substance* and not the *form*, and will not be diverted by the trick of a pettifogger. Whether the armament be put on board in port or at sea, England is always the *naval base*, or, according to the language of Sir WILLIAM SCOTT, in a memorable case, the "station" or "vantage ground"—which he declared a neutral country could not be. (*Twee Gebroe

tsiana and the whole region west of the Mississippi, saying "this accession of territory establishes forever the power of the United States, and gives to England a maritime rival destined to humble her pride;" and he forgets also how he himself, when beginning his Intervention for Italian Liberty, boasted proudly that France always stood for an "idea;" and, forgetting these things, which mankind cannot forget, he seeks the disjunction of this Republic, with the spoliation of that very territory which had come to us from the first NAPOLEON, while France, always standing for an "idea," is made under his auspices to stand for the "idea" of welcome to a new evangel of Slavery, with MASON and SLIDELL as the evangelists. Thus is the imperial influence thrown on the side of Rebel Slavemongers. Unlike the ancient Gaul, the Emperor forbears for the present to fling his sword into the scale; but he flings his heavy hand, if not his sword.

But only recently we have the menace of the sword. The throne of Mexico has been offered to an Austrian Archduke. The desire to recognize the Independence of Rebel Slave-mongers has been officially declared. These two incidents are to be taken together—as the complements of each other. And now we are assured by consulting report, that Mexico is to be maintained as an Empire. The policy of the Holy Alliance, originally organized against the great NAPOLEON, is now adopted by his representative on the throne of France. What its despot authors left undone the present Emperor, nephew of the first, proposes to accomplish. It is said that Texas also is to be brought under the Imperial Protectorate, thus ravishing a possession, which belongs to this Republic, as much as Normandy belongs to France. The "partition" of Poland is acknowledged to be the great crime of the last century. It was accomplished by Three Powers, with the silent connivance of the rest; but not without pangs of remorse on the part of one of the spoilers. "I know," said MARIA THERESA to the ambassador of LOUIS XVI., "that I have brought a deep stain on my reign by what has been done in Poland; but I am sure that I should be forgiven, if it could be known what repugnance I had to it." (*Flassan, Histoire de la Diplomatie Francaise*, Vol. vii. p. 125.) But the French Emperor seeks to play on this continent the very part which of old caused the contrition of MARIA THERESA; nor could the "partition" of our broad country—if in an evil hour it were accomplished—fail to be the great crime of the present century. Trampler upon the Republic in France—trampler upon the Republic of Mexico—it remains to be seen if the French Emperor can prevail as trampler upon this Republic. I do not think he can; nor am I anxious on account of the new Emperor of Mexico, who will be as powerless as King CANUTE against the rising tide of the American people. His chair must be withdrawn or he will be overwhelmed.

And here I bring to an end this unpleasant review. It is with small satisfaction, and only in explanation of our relations with Foreign Powers, that I have accumulated these instances, not one of which, small as well as great, is without its painful lesson, while they all testify with a single voice to the perils of our country.

[II.]

FOREIGN INTERVENTION, BY MEDIATION OR INTERCESSION.

But there is another branch of the subject, which is not less important. Considering all these things, and especially how great Powers abroad have constantly menaced Intervention in our war, now by criticism and now by proffers of Mediation, all tending painfully to something further, it becomes us to see what, according to the principles of International Law and the examples of history, will justify Foreign Intervention, in any of the forms which it may take. And here there is one remark which may be made at the outset. Nations are equal in the eye of International Law, so that what is right for one is right for all. It follows that no nation can justly exercise any right which it is not bound to concede under like circumstances. Therefore, should our cases be reversed, there is nothing which England and France have now proposed or which they may hereafter propose which it will not be our equal right to propose, when Ireland or India once more rebel, or when France is in the throes of its next revolution. Generously and for the sake of that International Comity, which should not be lightly hazarded, we may reject the precedents they now furnish; but it will be hard for them to complain if we follow them.

Foreign Intervention is on its face inconsistent with every idea of National Independence, which in itself is nothing more than the conceded right of a nation to rest undisturbed so long as it does not disturb others. If nations stood absolutely alone, dissociated from each other, so that what passed in one had little or no influence in another, only a tyrranical and intermeddling spirit could fall to recognize this right. But civilization itself, by drawing nations nearer together and bringing them into one society, has brought them under reciprocal influence, so that no nation can now act or suffer by itself alone. Out of the relations and suggestions of good neighborhood—involving, of course, the admitted right of self-defence—springs the only justification or apology which can be found for *Foreign Intervention*, which is the general term to signify an interposition in the affairs of another country, whatever form it may take. Much is done under the name of "good offices," whether in the form of *Mediation or Intercession*; and much also by military power, whether in the declared will of superior force or directly by arms. *Recognition of Independence* is also another instance. Intervention in any form is interference. If peaceable, it must be judged by its motive and tendency; if forcible, it will naturally be resisted by force.

Intervention may be between two or more nations, or it may be between the two parties to a civil war; and yet, again, it may be where there is no war, foreign or domestic. In each case, it should be governed strictly by the same principles, except, perhaps, that, in the case of a civil war, there should be a more careful consideration, not only of the rights, but of the susceptibilities of a nation so severely tried. This is the obvious suggestion of humanity. Indeed, Intervention between nations is only a common form of participation in foreign war; but Intervention in a civil war is an intermeddling in the domestic concerns of another nation. Of course, whoever acts at the *joint invitation of the belligerent parties*, in order to compose a bloody strife, will be entitled to the blessings which belong to peace-makers; but, if uninvited, or acting only at the invitation of one party, he will be careful to proceed with reserve and tenderness, in the spirit of peace, and will confine his action to a proffer of good offices in the form of Mediation or Intercession, unless he is ready for war. Such a proffer may be declined without offence. But it can never be forgotten that, *where one side is obviously fighting for Barbarism*, any Intervention, whatever form it may take,—if only by captious criticism, calculated to give encouragement to the wrong side, or to secure for it time or temporary toleration, if not final success,—*is plainly immoral*. If not contrary to the Law of Nations, it ought to be.

Intervention, in the spirit of Peace and for the sake of Peace, is one of the refinements of civilization. Intervention, in the spirit of war, if not for the sake of war, has filled a large space in history, ancient and modern. But all these instances may be grouped under two heads; first, Intervention in *external* affairs; and, secondly, Intervention in *internal* affairs. The first may be illustrated by the Intervention of the Elector MAURICE, of Saxony, against CHARLES V.; of King WILLIAM against LOUIS XIV.; of Russia and France, in the seven years' war; of Russia again between France and Austria, in 1805, and also between France and Prussia, in 1806; and of France, Great Britain and Sardinia, between Turkey and Russia, in the war of the Crimea.

The intervention of Russia, Austria and Prussia, in the affairs of Poland; of Great Britain among the native Powers of India; and of the Allied Powers, under the continued inspiration of the Treaty of Pilnitz, in the French Revolution, are illustrations of the second head. But without dwelling on these great examples, I shall call attention to instances which show more especially the growth of intervention, first, in external, and, then, in internal affairs. And here I shall conceal nothing. Instances, which seem to be against the principles which I have at heart, will at least help to illustrate the great subject, so that you may see it as it is.

INTERVENTION IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

(1.) First in order, and for the sake of completeness, I speak of Intervention in *external* affairs, where two or more nations are parties.

As long ago as 1645, France offered Mediation between what was then called "the two crowns of the North," Sweden and Denmark. This was followed, in 1648, by the famous Peace of Westphalia, the beginning of our present Law of Nations, which was negotiated under the joint Mediation of the Pope and the Republic of Venice, present by Nuncio and Ambassador. Shortly afterward, in 1655, the Emperor of Germany offered his Mediation between Sweden and Poland, but the old historian records that the Swedes suspected him of seeking to increase rather than to arrange pending difficulties, which was confirmed by his appearance shortly afterward in the Polish camp. But Sweden, though often belligerent in those days, was not so always, and, in 1672, when war broke forth between France and England on one side and the Dutch Provinces on the other, we find her proffering a Mediation, which was promptly accepted by England, who justly rejected a similar proffer which the Elector of Brandenburg, ancestor of the kings of Prussia, had the hardihood to make while marching at the head of his forces to join the Dutch. The English notes on this occasion, written in what at the time was called "sufficiently bad French but in most intelligible terms," declared that the Electoral proffer, though under the pleasant name of mediation (*par le doux nom de mediation,*) was in reality an arbitration, and that, instead of a Mediation, *unarmed and disinterested*, it was a Mediation, armed and pledged to the enemies of England. (Wicquefort, L'Ambassadeur, Vol. i. p. 135.)

Such are some of the earlier instances, all of which have their lesson for us. But there are modern instances. I allude only to the Triple Alliance between Great Britain, Prussia and Holland, which, at the close of the last century, successfully intervened, by a Mediation, which could not be resisted, to compel Denmark—which had sided with Russia against Sweden—to remain neutral for the rest of the war; then in 1791 to dictate the terms of peace between Austria and the Porte; and lastly in 1792, to constrain Russia into an abandonment of her designs upon the Turkish Empire, by the peace of Jassey. On this occasion the Empress of Russia, CATHARINE, peremptorily refused the Mediation of Prussia and the Mediating Alliance made its approaches through Denmark, by whose good offices the Empress was finally induced to consent to the Treaty. While thus engaged in a work of professed Mediation, England, in a note to the French Ambassador declined a proposition to act as Mediator between France and the Allied Powers; leaving that world-embracing war to proceed. But England has not only refused to act as Mediator, but *has also refused to submit to a mediation*. This was during the last war with the United States, when Russia, at the busy capital of Sweden, proffered her Mediation between the two belligerents, which was promptly accepted by the United States. Its rejection at the time by England, causing the prolongation of hostilities, was considered by Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH less justifiable, as "a mediator is a common friend, who counsels both parties with a weight proportioned to their belief in his integrity and their respect for his power; but he is not an arbitrator to whose decision they submit their differences where award is binding on them." The peace of Ghent was concluded at last under Russian Mediation. But England has not always been belligerent. When ANDREW JACKSON menaced letters-of-marque against France, on account of a failure to pay a sum stipulated in a recent Treaty with the United States, King WILLIAM IV. proffered his Mediation between the two Powers; but happily the whole question was already arranged. It appears also that, before our war with Mexico, the good offices of England were tendered to the two parties, but neither was willing to accept them, and war took its course. Such are instances of interference in the external affairs of nations, and since International Law is to be traced in history, they furnish a guide which we cannot safely neglect, especially in view of the actual policy of England and France.

INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

(2.) But the instances of Foreign Intervention in the *internal* affairs of a nation are more pertinent to the present occasion. They are numerous and not always harmonious, especially if we compare the new with the old. In the earlier times such Intervention was regarded with repugnance. But the principle then declared has been sapped on the one side by the conspiracies of tyranny, seeking the suppression of liberal institutions, and on the other side, by a generous sympathy, breaking forth in support of liberal institutions. According to the old precedents, most of which will be found in the gossiping book of WICQUEFORT, from whence they have been copied by Mr. WILDMAN, even *Foreign Intercession* was prohibited. Not even in the name of charity could one ruler speak to another on the domestic affairs of his Government. PETER, King of Arragon, refused to receive an embassy from ALPHONSO, King of Castile, entreating mercy for rebels. CHARLES IX., a detestable monarch, in reply to ambassadors of the Protestant Princes of Germany, pleading for his Protestant subjects, insolently said that he required no tutors to teach him how to rule. And yet this same sovereign did not hesitate to ask the Duke of Savoy to receive certain subjects "into his benign favor, and to restore and reëstablish them in their confiscated estates." (Guizot's Cromwell, vol. ii., p. 210.) In this appeal there was a double inconsistency; for it was not only an interference in the affairs of another Prince, but it was in behalf of Protestants, only a few months before the massacre of St. Bartholomew. HENRY III., the successor of CHARLES, and a detestable monarch also, in reply to the Protestant Ambassadors, announced that he was a sovereign prince, and ordered them to leave his dominions. LOUIS XIII., was of a milder nature, and yet when the English Ambassador, the Earl of Carlisle, presumed to speak in favor of the Huguenots, he declared that no interference between the King of France and his subjects could be approved.

The Cardinal RICHELIEU, who governed France so long, learning that an attempt was made to procure the intercession of the Pope, stopped it by a message to his Holiness, that the King would be displeased by any such interference. The Pope himself, on another recorded occasion, admitted that it would be a pernicious precedent to allow a subject to negotiate terms of accommodation through a foreign Prince. On still another occasion, when the King of France, forgetting his own rule, interposed in behalf of the Barberini Family, Innocent X declared, that as he had no desire to interfere in the affairs of France, he trusted that his Majesty would not interfere in his. Queen CHRISTINA of Sweden, on merely hinting a disposition to proffer her good offices, for the settlement of the unhappy divisions of France, was told by the Queen Regent, that she might give herself no trouble on the subject, and one of her own Ministers at Stockholm declared that the overture had been properly rejected. Nor were the States General of Holland less sensitive. They even went so far as to refuse audience to the Spanish Ambassador, seeking to congratulate them on the settlement of a domestic question, and, when the French Ambassador undertook to plead for the Roman Catholics, the States, by formal resolution, denounced his conduct as inconsistent with the peace and constitution of the Republic, all of which was communicated to him by eight deputies, who added by word of mouth whatever the resolution seemed to want in plainness of speech.

Nor is England without similar examples. LOUIS XIII., shortly after the marriage of his sister HENRIETTA MARIA with CHARLES I., consented that the English Ambassador should interpose for the French Protestants; but when the French ambassador in England requested the repeal of a law against Roman Catholics, CHARLES expressed his surprise that the King of France should presume to intermeddle in English affairs. Even as late as 1745, when, after the battle of Culloden, the Dutch ambassador in France was induced to address the British Government in behalf of CHARLES EDWARD, the Pretender, to the effect that if taken he should not be treated as a rebel, it is recorded that this Intercession was greatly resented by the British Government, which, not content with an apology from the unfortunate official, required that he should be rebuked by his own Government also. And this is British testimony with regard to Intervention in a civil war, even when it took the mildest form of Intercession for the life of a prince.

But in the face of these repulses, all these nations at different times have practiced Intervention in every variety of form. Sometimes by Intercession or "good offices" only, sometimes by Mediation, and often by arms. Even these instances attest the intermeddling spirit, for wherever Intervention was thus repulsed, it was at least attempted.

But there are two precedents belonging to the earlier period which deserve to stand apart, not only for their historic importance, but for their applicability to our times. The first was the effort of that powerful Minister, who, during the minority of LOUIS XIV., ruled France—Cardinal MAZARIN—to institute a Mediation between King CHARLES I. and his Parliament. The civil war had already been waged for years; good men on each side had fallen—FALKLAND fighting for the King, and HAMPDEN fighting for the Parliament—and other costliest blood had been shed on the fields of Worcester, Edgehill, Newbury, Marston Moor and Naseby, when the ambitious Cardinal, wishing to serve the King, according to CLARENDON, promised "to press the Parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a war against them, if they refused to yield what was reasonable." For this important service he selected the famous POMPONNE DE BELLIEVRE, of a family tried in public duties—himself President of the Parliament of Paris and a peer of France—conspicuous in personal qualities as in place, whose beautiful head, preserved by the graver of Nanteuil, is illustrious in art, and whose dying charity lives still in the great hospital of the Hôtel Dieu at Paris. On his arrival at London the graceful Ambassador presented himself to that Long Parliament which knew so well how to guard English rights. Every overture was at once rejected, by formal proceedings, from which I copy these words: "We do declare that we ourselves have been careful on all occasions to compose these unhappy troubles, *yet we have not, neither can, admit of any Mediation or interposing betwixt the King and us by any foreign Prince or State*; and we desire that His Majesty, the French King, will rest satisfied with this our resolution and answer." On the Committee which drew this reply was JOHN SELDEN, unsurpassed for learning and ability in the whole splendid history of the English bar, on every book of whose library was written, "Before everything, Liberty," and also that HARRY VANE whom MILTON, in one of his most inspired sonnets, addresses, as

"VANE, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns not arms repelled
The fierce Epirot and the African bold."

The answer of such men may well be a precedent to us; especially should England, taking up the rejected policy of MAZARIN, presume to send any ambassador to stay the Republic in its war with Slavery.

But the same heart of oak, which was so strenuous to repel the Intervention of France, in the great question between King and Parliament, was not less strenuous even in Intervention—when it could serve the rights of England or the principles of religious liberty. Such was England when ruled by the great Protector, called in his own day "chief of men." No nation so powerful as to be exempt from that irresistible intercession, where beneath the garb of peace there was a gleam of arms. From France, even under the rule of MAZARIN, he claimed respect for the Protestant name, which he insisted upon making great and glorious. From Spain, on whose extended empire the sun at that time never ceased to shine, he insisted that no Englishman should be subject to the Inquisition. Reading to his council a dispatch from Admiral BLAKE, announcing that he had obtained justice from the Viceroy of Malaga, CROMWELL said "that he hoped to make the name of Englishman as great as ever that of Roman had been." In this same lofty mood he turned to propose his Mediation between Protestant Sweden and Protestant Bremen, "chiefly bewailing that, being both his friends, they should so despitefully combat one against another;" "offering his assistance to a commodious accommodation on both sides," and "exhorting them by no means to refuse any honest conditions of reconciliation."—(*Milton's Prose Works*, Vol. vi., p. 315, 16.) Here was Intervention between nation and nation; but it was soon followed by an Intervention in the internal affairs of a distant country, which, of all the acts of CROMWELL, is the most touching and sublime. The French Ambassador was at Whitehall urging the signature of a treaty, when news unexpectedly came from a secluded valley of the Alps—far away among those mountain torrents which are the affluents of the Po—that a company of pious Protestants, who had been for centuries gathered there, where they kept the truth pure "when our fathers worshiped stocks and stones," were now suffering terrible persecution from their sovereign, EMANUEL of Savoy; that they had been despoiled of all possessions and liberties, brutally driven from their homes, given over to a licentious and infuriated violence, and that when they turned in self-defence, they had been "slain by the bloody Piemontese, that rolled mother and infant down the rocks," and it was reported that French troops took part in this dismal transaction. The Protector heard the story, and his pity flashed into anger. He declined to sign the treaty until France united with him in securing justice to these humble sufferers, whom he called the Lord's people. For their relief he contributed out of his own purse £2,000, and authorized a general collection throughout England, which reached to a large sum; but, besides giving money, he set apart a day of humiliation and prayer for them. Nor was this all. "I should be glad," wrote his Secretary THURLOE, "to have a more particular account of that business, and to know what has become of those poor people, for whom our very souls here do bleed."—(*Vaughan's Protectorate*, Vol. i. p. 177.) But a mightier pen than that of any plodding secretary was enlisted in this pious intervention. It was JOHN MILTON, glowing with that indignation which his sonnet on the massacre in Piemont has made immortal in the heart of man, who wrote the magnificent dispatches, in which the English nation of that day after declaring itself "linked together with its distant brethren, not only by the same type of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion," naturally and gloriously insisted that "whatever had been decreed to their disturbance on account of the Reformed Religion should be abrogated, and that an end be put to their oppressions." But not content with this call upon the Prince of Savoy, the Protector appealed to LOUIS XIV., and also to his Cardinal Minister; to the States General of Holland; to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland; to the King of Denmark; to GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and even to the Protestant Unitarian Prince of remote Transylvania; and always by the pen of MILTON—ratifying these Princes and Powers in joint entreaty and Intervention, and, "if need be, to some other speedy course, that such a numerous multitude of our Innocent brethren may not miserably perish for want of succor and assistance." The Regent of Savoy, who was the daughter of HENRY IV., professed to be affected by this English charity, and announced for her Protestant subjects "a free pardon, and also such privileges and graces as cannot but give the Lord Protector a sufficient evidence of the *great respect borne both to his person and Mediation.*" (*Guizot's History of Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 211-19; *Milton's Prose Works*, vol. vi., p. 318-37.) But there was still delay. Meanwhile CROMWELL began to inquire where English troops might debark in the Prince's territories, and MAZARIN, anxious to complete the yet unfinished Treaty with England joined in requiring an immediate pacification in the valleys and the restoration of these persecuted people to their ancient liberties. It was done. Such is the grandest Intervention of English history, inspired by MILTON, enforced by CROMWELL, and sustained by LOUIS XIV., with his Cardinal Minister by his side, while foreign nations watched the scene.

But this great instance, constituting an inseparable part of the glory of the Protector, is not the last occasion on which England intervened in behalf of the liberties of Protestants. Troubles began in France with the revocation of the edict of Nantes; but these broke forth in the rebellion of the Camisards, smarting under the revocation. Sheltered by the mountains of the Cevennes, and nerved by their good cause, with the device "Liberty of Conscience" on their standards, they made head against two successive Marshals of France, and perplexed the old age of LOUIS XIV., whose arms were already enfeebled by foreign war. At last, through the Mediation of England, the great monarch made terms with his Protestant rebels, and the civil war was ended. (*Merlin*, article, *Ministre.*)

Intervention, more often armed than unarmed, showed itself in the middle of the last century. All decency was set aside when FREDERICK of Prussia, CATHARINE of Russia and MARIA THERESA of Austria, invaded and partitioned Poland, under the pretext of suppressing anarchy. Here was Intervention with a vengeance, and on the side of arbitrary power. But such is human inconsistency, there was almost, at the same time, another Intervention in the opposite direction. It was the Armed Intervention of France, followed by that of Spain and Holland, in behalf of American Independence. But Spain began Intervention here by an offer of Mediation, with a truce, which was accepted by France on condition that meanwhile the United States should be independent *in fact*. (*Martin's Nouvelles Causes Célèbres*, vol. i, p. 434.) Then came, in 1788, the Armed Intervention of Prussia, to sustain an illiberal faction in Holland, which was followed afterward by the compact between Great Britain, Prussia and Holland, known as the Triple Alliance, which began the business of its copartnership by an Armed Intervention to reconcile the insurgent provinces of Belgium to the German Emperor and their ancient Constitution. As France began to be shaken by domestic troubles, Mediation in her affairs was occasionally proposed. Among the papers of BURKE is a draft of a Memorial, written in 1791, in the name of the Government, offering what he calls "this healing mediation." Then came the vast coalition for Armed Intervention in France, to put down the Republic. But even this dreary cloud was for a moment brightened by a British attempt in Parliament, through successive debates, to institute an Intercession for LAFAYETTE, immured in the dungeons of European despotism. "It is reported," said one of the orators, "that America has solicited the liberation of her unfortunate adopted fellow-citizen. Let British magnanimity be called in aid of American gratitude, and exhibit to mankind a noble proof, that whatever the principles of genuine liberty prevail, *they never fail to inspire sentiments of generosity, feelings of humanity, and a detestation of oppression.*" (Parliamentary History, vol. xxxi. p. 38; vol. xxxii. p. 1348.)

Meanwhile France, against which all Europe intervened, played her part of Intervention, and the scene was Switzerland. In the unhappy disputes between the aristocratic and democratic parties, by which this Republic had been distracted, French Mediation had already become chronic, beginning in 1738, when it found a partial apology in the invitation of several of the Cantons and of the government of Geneva; occurring again in 1766, and again in 1782. The mountain Republic, breathing the air of Freedom, was naturally moved by the convulsions of the French Revolution. Civil war ensued, and grew in bitterness. At last, when France herself was composed under the powerful arm of the First Consul, we find him turning to compose the troubles of Switzerland. He was a military ruler, and always acted under the instincts of military power. By an address, dated at the palace of St. Cloud, BONAPARTE declared that, already for three years the Swiss had been slaying each other, and that, if left to themselves, they would continue to slay each other for three years more, without coming to any understanding; that, at first, he had resolved not to interfere in their affairs, but that he now changed his mind, and announced himself as the Mediator of their difficulties, proclaiming, confidently, that his Mediation would be efficacious as became the great people in whose name he spoke. (*Garden Histoire des Traités de Paix*, vol. viii., p. 21.) Deputies from the Cantons, together with all the chief citizens, were summoned to Paris in order to declare the means of restoring the Union, securing peace and reconciling all parties. Of course, this was *Armed Mediation*; but Switzerland was weak and France was strong, while the declared object was union, peace and reconciliation. I know not if all this was accomplished, but the civil war was stifled, and the constitution was established by what is entitled in history the Act of Mediation.

From that period down to the present moment, Intervention in the internal affairs of other nations has been a prevailing practice, now cautiously and peaceably, now offensively and forcibly. Sometimes England and France stood aloof; sometimes they took part. The Congress of Vienna, which undertook to settle the map of Europe, organized a universal and perpetual Intervention in the interest of monarchical institutions and existing dynasties. This compact was renewed at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, in 1818, with the explanatory declaration that the five great Powers would never assume jurisdiction over questions concerning the rights and interests of another Power, *except at its request* and without inviting such Power to take part in the conference. But this concession was obviously adverse to any liberal movement. Meanwhile the Holy Alliance was formed specially to watch and control the revolutionary tendencies of the age; but in this combination England, to her honor, declined to enter. The other Powers were sufficiently active. Austria, Russia and Prussia, did not hesitate at the Congress of Laybach, in 1840, to institute an Armed Intervention for the suppression of liberal principles in Naples; and again two years later, at the Congress of Verona, these same Powers, together with France, instituted another Armed Intervention to suppress liberal principles in Spain, which ultimately led to the invasion of that Kingdom and the overthrow of its Constitution. France was the belligerent agent, and would not be turned aside, although the Duke of WELLINGTON at Verona and Mr. CANNING at home, sought to arrest her armies by the Mediation of Great Britain, which Mediation was directly sought by Spain and directly refused by France. The British Government, in admirable letters, composed with unsurpassed skill and constituting a noble page of International Law, disclaimed for itself and denied to other Powers the right to require changes in the internal institutions of Independent States, *with the menace of hostile attack in case of refusal*; and it bravely declared to the Imperial and Royal Interventionists, that "so long as the struggles and disturbances of Spain should be confined within the circle of her own territory, they could not be admitted by the British Government to afford any plea for foreign interference," and in still another note it repeated that "*a menace of direct and imminent danger could alone, in exception to the general rule, justify foreign interference.*" (Phillimore's International Law, vol. iii., pp. 757-66.) These were the words of Mr. CANNING; but even Lord CASTLEREAGH, in an earlier note, had asserted the same limitation, which at a later day had the unqualified support of Lord GREY and also of Lord ABERDEEN. Justly interpreted they leave no apology for Armed Intervention except in a case of direct and imminent danger, when a nation, like an individual, may be thrown upon the great right of self-defence.

But Great Britain bore testimony by what she did, as well as by what she refused to do. Even while resisting the Armed Intervention of the great conspiracy, her Government intervened sometimes by Mediation and sometimes by arms. Early in the contest between Spain and her colonies, she consented on the invitation of Spain to act as Mediator, in the hope of affecting a reconciliation; but Spain declined the Mediation which she had invited. From 1812 to 1823 Great Britain constantly repeated her offer. In the case of Portugal she went further. Under the counsels of Mr. CANNING, whose speech on the occasion was of the most memorable character, she intervened by landing troops at Lisbon; but this Intervention was vindicated by the obligations of treaty. Next came the greater instance of Greece, when the Christian Powers of Europe intervened to arrest a protracted struggle and to save this classic land from Turkish tyranny. Here the first step was *a pressing invitation from the Greeks* to the British and French Governments for their Mediation with the Ottoman Porte. These Powers together with Russia proffered the much desired Intervention, which the Greeks at once accepted and the Turks rejected. Battle had already raged fiercely, accompanied by barbarous massacre. Without delay, the Allied forces were directed to compel the cessation of hostilities, which was accomplished by the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino and the occupation of the Morea by French troops. At last, under the continued Mediation of these Powers, the independence of Greece was recognized by the Ottoman Porte, and another Free State, consecrated to Freedom, took its place in the Family of Nations. But Mediation in Turkish affairs did not stop here. The example of Greece was followed by Egypt, whose provincial chief Mehemet Ali rebelled, and, by a genius for war, succeeded in dispossessing the Ottoman Porte not only of Egypt, but of other possessions also. This civil war was first arrested by temporary arrangement at Kutoyah in 1833, under the Mediation of Great Britain and France, and, finally ended by an Armed Mediation in 1840, when, after elaborate and irritating discussions, which threatened to involve Europe, a Treaty was concluded at London between Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, by which the Pacha was compelled to relinquish some of his conquests, while he was secured in the government of Egypt as a perpetual vassal of the Porte. France, dissatisfied with the terms of this adjustment, stood aloof from the Treaty, which found its apology, such as it had, first, in the invitation of the Sultan, and secondly, in the desire to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire as essential to the balance of power and the peace of Europe, to which reasons may also be added the desire to stop the effusion of blood.

Even before the Eastern questions were settled, other complications had commenced in Western Europe. Belgium, restless from the French Revolution of 1830, rose against the House of Orange and claimed her Independence. Civil war ensued; but the Great Powers promptly intervened, even to the extent of arresting a Dutch army on its march. Beginning with an armistice, there was a long and fine-spun negotiation, which, assuming the guise alternately of a pacific Mediation and of an armed Intervention, ended at last in the established separation of Belgium from Holland, and its Recognition as an Independent Nation. Do you ask why Great Britain intervened on this occasion? Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in the course of debate at a subsequent day, declared that a special motive was "the establishment of a free Constitution." (Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3d series, Vol. xciii., p. 417-66—House of Commons, July 11, 1847.) Meanwhile the peninsula of Spain and Portugal was torn by civil war. The regents of these two kingdoms respectively appealed to Great Britain and France for aid, especially in the expulsion of the pretender DON CARLOS from Spain, and the pretender DON MIGUEL from Portugal. For this purpose the Quadruple Alliance of these Powers was formed in 1834. The moral support derived from this Treaty is said to have been important; but Great Britain was compelled to provide troops. This Intervention, however, was *at the solicitation of the actual governments*. Even after the Spanish troubles were settled the war still lingered in the sister kingdom, when in 1847, the Queen appealed to Great Britain, the ancient patron of Portugal, to mediate between herself and her insurgent subjects, and the task was accepted, in the declared hope of composing the difficulties in a just and permanent manner "with all due regard to the dignity of the Crown on the one hand and the Constitutional liberties of the Nation on the other." The insurgents did not submit until after military demonstrations. But peace and liberty were the two watchwords here.

Then occurred the European uprising of 1848. France was once more a Republic; but Europe, wiser grown, did not interfere in her affairs, even so much as to write a letter. But the case was different with Hungary, whose victorious armies, radiant with liberty regained, expelled the Austrian power only to be arrested by the Armed Intervention of the Russian Czar, who yielded to the double pressure of an invitation from Austria and a fear that successful insurrection might extend into Poland. It was left for France at the same time in another country, with a strange inconsistency, to play the part which Russia had played in Hungary. Rome—which had risen against the temporal power of the Pope and proclaimed the Republic—was occupied by a French army, which expelled the republican magistrates, and, though fifteen years have already passed since that unhappy act, the occupation still continues. From this military Intervention Great Britain stood aloof. In a dispatch, dated at London, Jan. 28, 1849, Lord PALMERSTON has made a permanent record to the honor of his country. His words are as follows: "Her Majesty's Government would, upon every account, and not only upon abstract principle, but with reference to the general interests of Europe, and from the value which they attach to the maintenance of peace, *sincerely deprecate any attempt to settle the differences between the Pope and his subjects by the military interference of foreign Powers.*" (PHILLIMORE, International Law, vol. 2, p. 676.) But he gave further point to the whole position of Great Britain, in contrast with France, when he said, "Armed Intervention *to assist in retaining a bad government would be unjustifiable.*" (Ibid, 448.) Such was the declaration of the Lord PALMERSTON of that day. But how much more unjustifiable must be assistance *to found* a bad government, as is now proposed. The British Minister insisted that the differences should be accommodated by "the diplomatic interposition of friendly powers," which he declared a much better mode of settlement than an authoritative imposition of terms by foreign arms. In harmony with this policy Great Britain during this same year united with France in proffering mediation between the insurgent Sicilians and the King of Naples, the notorious BOMBA, in the hope of helping the cause of good government and liberal principles. Not disheartened by rebuff, these two governments in 1856 united in a friendly remonstrance to the same tyrannical sovereign against the harsh system of political arrests which he maintained, and against his cruelty to good citizens thrust without any trial into the worst of prisons. The advice was indignantly rejected, and the two governments that gave it at once withdrew their Ministers from Naples. The sympathy of Russia was on the wrong side, and Prince GORTSCHAKOFF, while admitting that "as a consequence of friendly forethought, one Government might give advice to another," declared in a circular that "to endeavor, by threats or a menacing demonstration, to obtain from the King of Naples concessions in the internal affairs of his Government is a violent usurpation of his authority, and an open declaration of the strong over the weak." This was practically answered by Lord CLARENDON, speaking for Great Britain at the Congress of Paris, when, admitting the principle that no government has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other nations, he declared that there were cases where an exception to this rule becomes equally a right and a duty: that peace must not be broken, but that there was no peace without justice, and that, therefore, the Congress must let the King of Naples know its desire for an amelioration of his system of Government, and must demand of him an amnesty for political offenders suffering without trial. This language was held beyond the practice of diplomacy; but the Intervention which it proposed was on the side of humanity.

But I must draw this part of the discussion to a close, although the long list of instances is not yet exhausted. Even while I speak, we hear of Intervention by England and France, in the civil war between the Emperor of China and his subjects; and also in that other war between the Emperor of Russia on the one side and the Poles, whom he claims as subjects, on the other side; but with this difference, that, in China these Powers have taken the part of the existing Government, while in Poland they have intervened against the existing Government. In the face of positive declarations of neutrality, the British and French Admirals have united their forces with the Chinese; but thus far in Poland, although there has been no declaration of neutrality, the Intervention has been unarmed. In both these instances we witness the same tendency, directed, it may be, by the interests or prejudices of the time, and so far as it has yet proceeded, it is at least in Poland on the side of liberal institutions. But alas! for human consistency—the French Emperor is now intervening in Mexico with armies and navies, to build a throne for an Austrian Archduke.

BRITISH INTERVENTION AGAINST SLAVERY.

But there is one long-continued Intervention by Great Britain which speaks now with controlling power; and it is on this account that I have reserved it for the close of what I have to say on this head. Though not without original shades of dark, it has for more than half a century been a shining example to the civilized world. I refer to that *Intervention against Slavery*, which, from its first adoption, has been so constant and brilliant as to make us forget the earlier *Intervention for Slavery*, when, for instance, Great Britain at the peace of Utrecht intervened to extort the detestable privilege of supplying slaves to Spanish America at the rate of 4,800 yearly for the space of thirty years, and then again at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, higgled for a yet longer sanction to this ignoble Intervention; nay, it almost makes us forget the kindred Intervention, at once most sordid and criminal, by which this Power counteracted all efforts for the prohibition of the Slave-trade even in its own colonies, and thus helped to fasten Slavery upon Virginia and Carolina. The abolition of the Slave-trade by act of Parliament in 1807 was the signal for a change of history.

But curiously, it was the whites who gained the first fruits of this change by a triumphant intervention for the suppression of Christian Slavery in the Barbary States. The old hero of Acre, Sir SIDNEY SMITH, released from his long imprisonment in France, sought to organize a "holy league" for this intervention; the subject was discussed at the Congress of Vienna; and the agents of Spain and Portugal, anxious for the punishment of their piratical neighbors, argued that, because Great Britain has abolished for itself the traffic in African slaves, therefore it must see that whites were no longer enslaved in the Barbary States. The argument was less logical than humane. But Great Britain undertook the work. With a fleet complete at all points, consisting of five line-of-battle ships, five heavy frigates, four bomb vessels, and five gun brigs, Lord EXMOUTH approached Algiers, where he was joined by a considerable Dutch fleet, anxious to take part in this intervention. "If force must be resorted to," said the Admiral in his General Orders, "we have the consolation of knowing that we fight in the sacred cause of humanity and cannot fail of success." A single day was enough—with such a force in such a cause. The formidable castles of the great Slavemonger were battered to pieces, and he was compelled to sign a Treaty confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, which in its first article stipulated "The Abolition of Christian Slavery forever." Glorious and beneficent Intervention! Not inferior to that renowned instance of antiquity, where the Carthagenians were required to abolish the practice of sacrificing their own children; a Treaty which has been called the noblest of history, because it was stipulated in favor of human nature. The Admiral, who had thus triumphed, was hailed as an Emancipator. He received a new rank in the peerage, and a new blazonry on his coat of arms. The rank is, of course, continued in his family, and on their shield, in perpetual memory of this great transaction, is still borne a *Christian slave, holding aloft the cross and dropping his broken fetters.* But the personal satisfactions of the Admiral were more than rank or heraldry. In his dispatch to the Government, describing the battle, and written at the time, he says: "To have been one of the humble instruments in the hands of Divine Providence for bringing to reason a ferocious Government, and destroying forever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian Slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it." (Osler's Life of Exmouth, pp. 297, 334, 432.)

But I have said too much with regard to an instance, which, though beautiful and important, may be regarded only as a parenthesis in the grander and more extensive Intervention against American Slavery, which was already organizing, destined at last to embrace the whole Human Family. Even before WILBERFORCE triumphed in Parliament, Great Britain intervened with NAPOLEON, in 1806, to induce him to join in the abolition of the slave-trade; but he flatly refused. What France would not then yield, was extorted from Portugal in 1810; from Sweden shortly afterward, and from Denmark in 1814. An ineffectual attempt was made to enlist Spain, even by the temptation of pecuniary subsidies; and also to enlist the restored monarch of France, LOUIS XVIII., even by the offer of a sum of money outright or the cession of a West India Island, in consideration of the desired abolition. Had gratitude to a benefactor prevailed, these Powers could not have resisted; but it was confessed by Lord CASTLEREAGH, in the House of Commons, that there was a distrust of the British Government "even among the better classes of people," who thought that its zeal in this behalf was prompted by a desire to injure the French Colonies and commerce, rather by than by benevolence. But the British Minister was more successful with Portugal, which was induced, by pecuniary equivalents, to execute a Supplementary Treaty in January, 1815. This was followed by the declaration of the Congress of Vienna, on motion of Lord CASTLEREAGH, 15th February, 1815, denouncing the African Slave-trade "as inconsistent with the principles of human

pendence was declared on the 4th July, 1776. Battles ensued—Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Saratoga, followed by the Winter of Valley Forge. The contest was yet undecided, when on the 6th February, 1778, France entered into a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States, containing, among other things, a Recognition of their Independence, with mutual stipulations between the two parties to protect the commerce of the other, by convoy on the ocean, "against all attacks, force and violence"—(*Statutes at Large*, Vol. viii. p. 16)—and this Treaty on the 15th of March was communicated to the British Government by the French Ambassador at London, with a diplomatic note, in which the United States are described as "in full possession of the Independence pronounced by the Act of 4th July, 1776," and the British Government is warned that the King of France, "in order to protect effectively the legitimate commerce of his subjects and to sustain the honor of his flag, has taken further measures with the United States." (*Marten's Nouvelles Causes Celebres*, vol. 1, p. 466.) A further Treaty of Alliance, whose declared object was the maintenance of the Independence of the United States, had been signed on the same day; but this was not communicated; nor is there any evidence that it was known to the British Government at the time. The communication of the other was enough; for it was in itself an open Recognition of the new Power, with a promise of protection to its commerce on the ocean, *while the war was yet flagrant between the two parties*. As such it must be regarded as an Armed Recognition, constituting in itself a belligerent act—aggravated and explained by the circumstances under which it was made—the warning, in the nature of a menace, by which it was accompanied—the clandestine preparations by which it was preceded—and the corsairs to cruise against British commerce, which for some time had been allowed to swarm under the American flag from French ports. It was so accepted by the British Government. The British Minister was summarily withdrawn from Paris; all French vessels in British harbors were seized, and on the 17th of March a message from the King was brought down to Parliament, which was in the nature of a declaration of war against France. In this declaration there was no allusion to anything but the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, officially communicated by the French Ambassador, which was denounced by His Majesty as an "unprovoked and unjustifiable aggression on the honor of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, *contrary to the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every foreign Power in Europe*." Only three days later, on the 21st March, the Commissioners of the United States were received by the King of France, in solemn audience, with all the pomp and ceremony accorded by the Court of Versailles to the representatives of Sovereign Powers. War ensued between France and Great Britain on land and sea, in which Holland and Spain afterwards took part against Great Britain. With such allies a just cause prevailed. Great Britain by Provisional Articles, signed at Paris 30th November, 1782, acknowledged the United States "to be free, sovereign and independent," and declared the boundaries thereof.

The success of colonial Independence was contagious, and the contest for it presented another historic instance more discussed, and constituting a precedent, if possible, more interesting still. This was when the Spanish Colonies in America, following the Northern example, broke away from the mother country, and declared themselves independent. The contest began as early as 1810; but it was ong continued and extended over an immense region—from New-Mexico and California in the North to Cape Horn in the South—washed by two vast oceans—traversed by mighty rivers and divided by lofty mountains—fruitful in silver—capped with snow and shooting with volcanic fire. At a time the United States, satisfied that the ancient power of Spain had practically ceased to exist, beyond a reasonable chance of restoration, and that the contest was ended, acknowledged the Independence of Mexico and five other provinces. But this act was approached only after frequent debate in Congress, where HENRY CLAY took an eminent part, and after most careful consideration in the Cabinet, where JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, as Secretary of State, shed upon the question all the light of his unsurpassed knowledge, derived from long practice, as well as from laborious study, of International Law. The judgment on this occasion must be regarded as an authority. President MONROE, in a Special Message, on the 8th March, 1822—twelve years after the war began—called the attention of Congress to the state of the contest, which he said "had now reached such a stage and been attended with such decisive success on the part of the provinces that it merits the most profound consideration whether their right to the rank of independent nations, with all the advantages incident to it, in their intercourse with the United States, is not complete." After setting forth the *de facto* condition of things, he proceeded: "Thus it is manifest that all these provinces are not only in the full enjoyment of their independence, but, *considering the state of the war and other circumstances, that there is not the most remote prospect of their being deprived of it*." In proposing their Recognition, the President declared that it was done "under a thorough conviction that it is in strict accordance with the law of nations," and further, that "it is not contemplated to change thereby, in the slightest manner, our friendly relations with either of the parties." In accordance with this recommendation, Congress authorized the Recognition. Two years later, the same thing was done by Great Britain, after much debate, diplomatic and parliamentary. No case of international duty has been illustrated by a clearer eloquence, an ampler knowledge or a purer wisdom. The dispatches were written by Mr. CANNING, and upheld by him in Parliament; but Lord LIVERPOOL took part in the discussion—succinctly declaring that there could be no right to Recognition "while the contest was actually going on." A conclusion which was cautiously but strongly enforced by Lord LANSDOWNE, and nobly vindicated in an Oration, reviewing the whole subject, by that great public st, Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. (*Mackintosh's Works*, Vol. iii., p. 438.) All inclined to Recognition, but admitted that it could not take place *so long as the contest continued*; and that there must be "such a contest as exhibits some equality of force, so that if the combatants were left to themselves, the issue would be in some degree doubtful." But the Spanish strength throughout the whole continent was reduced to a single castle in Mexico, an island on the coast of Chili, and a small army in Upper Peru, while in Buenos Ayres no Spanish soldier had set foot for fourteen years. "Is this a contest," said MACKINTOSH, "approaching to equality? Is it sufficient to render the independence of such a country doubtful? Does it deserve the name of a contest?" It was not until 1825 that Great Britain was so far satisfied as to acknowledge this independence. France followed in 1830, and Castilian pride relented in 1832, twenty-two years from the first date of the contest.

The next instance is that of Greece, which declared itself independent January 27, 1822. After a contest of more than five years, with alternate success and disaster, the Great Powers intervened forcibly in 1827; but the final recognition was postponed till May, 1832. Then came the instance of Belgium, which declared itself independent in October, 1830, and was promptly recognized by the Great Powers who interfered forcibly for this purpose. The last instance is Texas, which declared its independence in December, 1835, and defeated the Mexican army under SANTA ANNA, making him prisoner, in 1836. The power of Mexico seemed to be overthrown, but ANDREW JACKSON, who was then President of the United States, in his Message of December 21, 1836, laid down the rule of caution and justice on such an occasion, as follows: "The acknowledgment of a new State as independent and entitled to a place in the family of nations is at all times an act of great delicacy and responsibility; but more especially so when such State has forcibly separated itself from another, of which it had formed an integral part and which still claims dominion over it. *A premature recognition* under these circumstances, *if not looked upon as justifiable cause of war*, is always liable to be regarded as a proof of an unfriendly spirit." And he concluded by proposing that our country should "keep aloof" until the question was decided "beyond cavil or dispute." During the next year—when the contest had practically ceased and only the claim remained—this new Power was acknowledged by the United States, who were followed in 1840 by Great Britain, France and Belgium. Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845, but at this time Mexico had not joined in the general recognition.

PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO RECOGNITION.

Such are the historic instances which illustrate Intervention by Recognition. As in other cases of Intervention, the Recognition may be *armed* or *unarmed*, with an intermediate case, where the Recognition may seem to be unarmed when in reality it is armed, as when France simply announced its Recognition of the Independence of the United States, and at the same time prepared to maintain it by war.

Armed Recognition is simply *Recognition by Coercion*. It is a belligerent act constituting war, and it can be vindicated only as war. No nation will undertake it, unless ready to assume all the responsibilities of war, as in the recent cases of Greece and Belgium, not to mention the Recognition of the United States by France. But an attempt, under the guise of Recognition, to coerce the dismemberment or partition of a country is in its nature offensive beyond ordinary war; especially when the country to be sacrificed is a Republic and the plotters against it are crowned heads. Proceeding from the consciousness of brutal power, such an attempt is an insult to mankind. If Armed Recognition at any time can find apology, it will be only *where it is sincerely made for the protection of Human Rights*. It would be hard to condemn that Intervention which saved Greece to Freedom.

Unarmed Recognition is where a Foreign Power acknowledges, in some public form, the Independence of a colony or province against the claim of its original Government. Although excluding all idea of *coercion*, yet it cannot be uniformly justified.

NO RECOGNITION WHERE THE CONTEST IS STILL PENDING.

And here we are brought to that question of "time," on which Mr. CANNING so pointedly piqued himself, and to which President JACKSON referred, when he suggested that "a premature Recognition" might be "looked upon as justifiable cause of war." Nothing is more clear than that Recognition may be premature time, while it must be rejected at another. So far as it assumes to ascertain Rights instead of Facts, or to anticipate the result of a contest, it is wrongful. No Nation can undertake to sit in judgment on the rights of another Nation without its honest. Therefore it cannot declare that *de jure* a colony or province is *entitled* to Independence; but from the necessity of the case and that international intercourse may not fail, it may ascertain the *facts*, carefully and wisely, and, on the actual evidence, it may declare that *de facto* the colony or province appears to be in possession of Independence, which means—first, that the original Government is dispossessed beyond the possibility of recovery; and secondly, that the new Government has achieved that reasonable stability with fixed limits which gives assurance of a solid Power. All of this is simply fact and nothing more. But just in proportion as a Foreign Nation anticipates the fact, or imagines the fact, or substitutes its own passions for the fact, it transcends the well-defined bounds of International Law. Without the fact of Independence, positive and fixed, there is nothing but a claim. Now nothing can be clearer than that while the terrible litigation is still pending and the Trial by Battle, to which appeal has been made, is yet undecided, *the fact of Independence cannot exist*. There is only a paper Independence, which though reddened with blood, is no better than a paper empire or a paper blockade, and any pretended Recognition of it is a wrongful Intervention, inconsistent with a just neutrality, since the obvious effect must be to encourage the insurgent party. Such has been the declared judgment of our country and its practice, even under circumstances tempting in another direction, and such also was the declared judgment and practice of Great Britain with reference to Spanish America.

The conclusion, then, is clear. In order to justify a Recognition it must appear beyond doubt that *de facto* the contest is finished, and that *de facto* the new Government is established secure within fixed limits. *These are conditions precedent* which cannot be avoided, without an offence to a friendly Power, and an open violation of that International Law which is the guardian of the peace of the world. It will be for us shortly to inquire if there be not *another condition precedent*, which civilization in this age will require.

Do you ask now if Foreign Powers can acknowledge our Slavemonger embryo as an Independent Nation? There is madness in the thought. A Recognition, accomplished by the breaking of the blockade, would be war—impious war—against the United States, where Slavemongers would be the allies and Slavery the inspiration. Of all wars in history, none more accursed; none more sure to draw down upon its authors the judgment alike of God and man. But the thought of Recognition—under existing circumstances—while the contest is still pending—even without any breaking of the blockade or attempted coercion, is a Satanic absurdity, hardly less impious than the other. Of course, it would unblushingly assume that, *in fact*, the Slavemongers had already succeeded in establishing an Independent Nation with an untrouoled Government, and a secure conformation of territory—when, *in fact*, nothing is established—nothing is untroubled—nothing is secure,—not even a single boundary-line; and there is no element of Independence except the audacious attempt; when, in fact, the conflict is still waged on numerous battle-fields, and these pretenders to Independence have been driven from State to State—driven away from the Mississippi, which parts them—driven back from the sea which surrounds them—and shut up to the interior or in blockaded ports, so that only by stealth can they communicate with the outward world. Any Recognition of such a pretension, existing only as a pretension, scouted and denied by a whole people with invincible armies and navies embattled against it, would be a flaming mockery of Truth. It would assert Independence as *a fact* when notoriously it was not a *fact*. It would be an enormous lie. Naturally a Power thus guilty would expect to support the lie by arms.

[IV.]

IMPOSSIBILITY OF ANY RECOGNITION OF REBEL SLAVEMONGERS WITH SLAVERY AS A CORNER-STONE.

But I do not content myself with a single objection to this outrageous consummation. There is another of a different nature. Assuming, for the moment, what I am glad to believe can never happen, that the new Slave Power has become Independent *in fact*, while the national flag has sunk away exhausted in the contest, there is an objection which, in an age of Christian light, thank God! cannot be overcome—unless the Great Powers which, by solemn covenants, have branded Slavery, shall forget their vows, while England, the declared protectress of the African race, and France, the declared champion of "ideas," both break away from the irresistible logic of their history and turn their backs upon the past. Vain is honor; vain is human confidence, if these nations at a moment of high duty can thus ignobly fall. "Renown and grace is dead." Like the other objection, this is of *fact* also; for it is founded on the character of the Slavemonger pretension claiming Recognition, all of which is *a fact*. Perhaps it may be said that it is a question of policy; but it is of a policy which ought to be beyond question, *if the fact be established*. Something more is necessary than that the new Power shall be *de facto* Independent. It must be *de facto fit* to be Independent, and from the nature of the case, every nation will judge of this fitness *as a fact*. In undertaking to acknowledge a *new* Power, you proclaim its fitness for welcome and association in the Family of Nations. Can England put forth such a proclamation in favor of the whippers of women and sellers of children? Can France permit LOUIS NAPOLEON to put forth such a proclamation?

And here, on the threshold of this inquiry, the true state of the question must not be forgotten. It is not whether old and existing relations shall be continued with a Power which permits Slavery, but *whether relations shall be begun with a new Power*, which not merely permits Slavery, but builds its whole interior pretension upon this Barbarism. "No *New* Slave State" is a watchword with which we are already familiar; but even this cry does not reveal the full opposition to this new revolt against Civilization; for even if disposed to admit a *new* Slave State, there must be, among men who have not yet lost all sense of decency, an undying resistance to the admission of a *New* Slave Power, having such an unquestioned origin and such an unquestioned purpose as that which now flaunts in piracy and blood before the civilized world, seeking Recognition for its criminal chimera. Here is nothing for nice casuistry. Duty is as plain as the moral law or the multiplication table.

Look for a moment at the unprecedented character of this pretension. A President had been elected by the people, in the Autumn of 1860, who was known to be against the extension of Slavery. This was all. He had not yet entered upon the performance of his duties. But the Slavemongers saw that Slavery at home must suffer under this popular judgment against its extension, and they rebelled. Under this inspiration State after State pretended to withdraw from the Union and to construct a new Confederacy, whose "corner-stone" was Slavery. A Constitution was adopted which declared in these words: (1.) "No law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed," and (2.) "In all territory, actual or acquired, the institution of Negro Slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and the Territorial Government." Do not start. These are the authentic words of the text. You will find them in the Constitution.

Such was the unalterable fabric of the new Government. Nor was there any doubt or hesitation in proclaiming its distinctive character. Its Vice-President, Mr. STEPHENS, who thus far had been remarked for his moderation on Slavery, as if smitten with diabolic light, undertook to explain and vindicate the Magna Charta just adopted. His words are already familiar; but they cannot be omitted in an accurate statement of the case. "*The new Constitution*," he said, "has put at rest *forever* all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution, African Slavery, as it exists among us," which he proceeds to declare "was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution." The Vice-President then announced unequivocally the change that had taken place. Admitting that "it was the prevailing idea of the leading statesmen at the foundation of the Old Constitution that the enslavement of the African was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically, and that it was a violation of the laws of nature," he denounces this idea as "fundamentally wrong," and proclaims the new Government as "founded upon *exactly the opposite idea*." There was no disguise. "Its foundations," he avows, "are laid, its *corner-stone* rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that Slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition." Not content with exhibiting the unrived foundation, he boastfully claims for the new government the priority of invention. "*Our new Government*," he vaunts, "*is the first in the history of the world* based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth. This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief stone of the corner." And then, as if priority of invention were not enough, he proceeds to claim for the new government future supremacy, saying that it is already "a growing power, which, if true to itself, its destiny and its high mission, will become the controlling power upon this Continent."

Since Satan first declared the "corner-stone" of his new Government and openly denounced the Almighty throne, there has been no blasphemy of equal audacity. In human history nothing but itself can be its parallel. Here was the gauntlet thrown down to Heaven and Earth, while a disgusting Barbarism was proclaimed as the new Civilization. Two years have already passed, but, as the Rebellion began, so it is now. A Governor of South Carolina in a message to the Legislature as late as 3d April, 1863, took up the boastful strain and congratulated the Rebel Slavemongers that they were "a refined, cultivated and enlightened people," and that the new Government was "the finest type that the world ever beheld." God save the mark! And a leading journal, more than any other the organ of the Slave-mongers, has uttered the original vaunt with more than the original brutality. After dwelling on "the grand career and lofty destiny" before the new Government, the Richmond *Examiner* of 28th May, 1863, proceeds as follows: "Would that all of us understood and laid to heart the true nature of that career and that destiny and the responsibility it imposes. *The establishment of the Confederacy is verily a distinct reaction against the whole course of the mistaken civilization of the age*. For Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, we have deliberately substituted Slavery, Subordination and Government. *Reverently we feel that our Confederacy is a God-sent missionary to the nations with great truths to preach*. We must speak thus boldly, but whoso hath ears to hear let him hear." It is this God-sent missionary to the nations, which it is now proposed to welcome at the household hearth of the civilized world.

Unhappily there are old nations, still tolerating Slavery, already in the Family; but now, for the first time in history, a new nation claims admission there, which not only tolerates Slavery, but, exulting in its shame, strives to reverse the judgment of mankind against this outrage, and to make it a chief support and glory, so that all Recognition of the new Power will be the Recognition of a sacrilegious pretension,

"With one vast blood-stone for the mighty base."

Elsewhere Slavery has been an accident; here it is the principle. Elsewhere it has been an instrument only; here it is the inspiration. Elsewhere it has been kept back in a becoming modesty; here it is pushed forward in all its brutish nakedness. Elsewhere it has claimed nothing but liberty to live; here it claims liberty to rule with unbounded empire at home and abroad. Look at this candidate Power as you will, in its whole continued existence, from its Alpha to its Omega, and it is nothing but Slavery! Its origin is Slavery; its main-spring is Slavery; its object is Slavery. Wherever it appears, whatever it does, whatever form it takes, it is Slavery alone and nothing else—so that, with the contrition of Satan, it might cry out:

"Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is hell; *myself am hell*."

The Rebellion is Slavery in arms; Slavery on horseback; Slavery on foot; Slavery raging on the battlefield; Slavery raging on the quarter-deck, robbing, destroying, burning, killing, in order to uphold this candidate Power. Its legislation is simply Slavery in statutes; Slavery in chapters; Slavery in sections—with an enacting clause. Its Diplomacy is Slavery in pretended ambassadors; Slavery in cunning letters; Slavery in cozening promises; Slavery in persistent negotiations—all to secure for the candidate Power its much-desired welcome. Say what you will; try to avoid it if you can; you are compelled to admit that the candidate Power is nothing else than *organized Slavery*, which now in its madness—surrounded by its criminal clan, and led by its felon chieftains—braves the civilization of the age. Therefore, any Recognition of this Power will be a Recognition of Slavery itself, with welcome and benediction, imparting to it *new* consideration and respectability, and worse still, securing to it *new* opportunity and foothold for the supremacy which it openly proclaims.

In ancient days the candidate was robed in white, while at the Capitol and in the Forum he canvassed the people for their votes. The candidate Nation, which is not ashamed of Slavery, should be robed in black, while it conducts its great canvass, and asks the votes of the Christian Powers. "Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night," as the outrage proceeds. For the candidate gravely asks the International Recognition of the claim to hold property in man; to sell the wife away from the husband; to sell the child away from the parent; to shut the gates of knowledge; to appropriate all the fruits of another's labor. And yet the candidate proceeds in his canvass—although all history declares that Slavery is essentially barbarous, and that whatever it touches it changes to itself; that it barbarizes laws; barbarizes business; barbarizes manners; barbarizes social life, and makes the people who cherish it barbarians. And still the candidate proceeds—although it is known to the Christian Powers that the partisans of Slavery are naturally "filibusters," always up for lawless incursions and for robbery; that, during latter years, under their instigation, and to advance their pretensions, expeditions, *identical in motive with the present Rebellion*, were let loose in the Gulf of Mexico, twice against Cuba and twice also against Nicaragua, breaking the peace of the United States and threatening the repose of the world, so that LOPEZ and WALKER were the predecessors of BEAUREGARD and JEFFERSON DAVIS. And yet the candidate proceeds—although it is obvious that the Recognition which is urged will be nothing less than a solemn sanction, by the Christian Powers, of Slavery everywhere throughout the new jurisdiction, whether on land or sea, so that every ship, which is a part of the *floating territory*, will be *Slave Territory*. And yet with the phantasy that man can hold property in man shooting from his lips; with the shackle and lash in his hands; with Barbarism on his forehead; with Filibusterism in his recorded life; and with Slavery flying in his flag wherever it floats on land or sea, the candidate clamors for Christian Recognition. It is sad to think that there has been delay in repelling the insufferable pretension. Is the servant a dog that he should do this thing?" It is not necessary to be a Christian; it is sufficient to be a man—in order to detest and combat such an accursed pretension.

If the Recognition of a *de facto* Power was a duty imposed upon other nations by International Law, there would be no opportunity for objections founded on principle or policy. *But there is no such duty*. International Law leaves to each nation, precisely as the municipal law leaves to each citizen, what company to keep or what copartnership to form. No company and no copartnership can be forced upon a nation. It is all a question of free choice and acceptance. International Law on this head is like the Constitution of the United States, which declares: "New States *may be admitted* by the Congress into this Union." Not *must* but *may*; it being in the discretion of Congress to determine whether the State shall be admitted. Accordingly, in the exercise of this discretion, Congress for a long time refused to admit Missouri *as a Slave State*. And now the old Missouri Question, in a more outrageous form, on a grander theatre, "with monarchs to behold the swelling scene."—is presented to the Christian Powers of the world. If it were right to exclude Missouri, having a few slaves only and regarding Slavery merely as a temporary condition, it must be right to exclude a pretended nation, which not only boasts its millions of slaves, but passionately proclaims the perpetuity and propagation of Slavery as the cause and object of its separate existence.

Practical statesmen have always treated the question of Recognition as one of policy—to be determined on the *facts* of the case—even where the Power was *de facto* established; as appears amply in the debates of the British Parliament on the Recognition of Spanish America. If we go behind the practical statesmen and consult the earliest oracles of International Law, we shall find that, according to their most approved words, not only may Recognition be refused, but there are considerations of duty this way which cannot be evaded. It is not enough that a pretender has the form of a Commonwealth. "A people," says CICERO, in a definition copied by most jurists, "is not every body of men herded together in a gathered multitude *associated under the sanction of justice and for common good*."—*Juris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatus*. (De Repub. lib. i., 25.) And again he goes so far as to say, in the Republic, "when the king is unjust, or the aristocracy, or the people itself, the Commonwealth is not vicious *but null*." Of course a Commonwealth that was *null* would not be recognized. But GROTIUS, who speaks always with the mag stral voice of learning and genius, has given the just conclusion, when he presents the distinction between a body of men, who being already a Recognized Commonwealth, are guilty of systematic crime, as, for instance, of piracy, and another body of men, who, *not yet Recognized as a Commonwealth*, are banded together for the sake of systematic crime—*sceleris causâ coeunt*. (*De Jure Belli, ac Pacis*, lib. iii., cap. 3, § 2.) The latter, by a happy discrimination, he places beyond *the pale of honor or fellowship*; *nam ki crimen est causâ societatem*. But when, before all history, have creatures, wearing the human form, proclaimed the *criminal principle* of their association, with the audacity of our Slavemongers?

It might be argued, on grounds of reason and authority, even, that the *declared principle* of the pretended Power was a violation of International Law. Eminent magistrates have solemnly ruled that, in the development of civilization, the Slave-trade has become illegal, by a law higher than any statute. Sir WILLIAM GRANT, one of the ornaments of the British Bench, whose elegant mind was governed always by practical sense, adjudged that "this trade cannot, *abstractedly speaking*, have any legitimate existence," (*Amedie*, 2 Acton R., 240;) and our own great authority, Mr. Justice STORY, in a remarkable judgment, declared himself constrained "to consider the trade *against the universal law of society*," (*La Jeune Eugenie*, 2 Mason R., 451.) But the arguments which are strong against any recognition of the Slave-trade, are strong also against any Recognition of Slavery itself.

It is not, however necessary, in the determination of present duty, to assume that Slavery, or the Slave-trade, is positively forbidden by existing International Law. It is enough to show, that *according to the spirit* of that sovereign law which "sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill," and according, also, to those commanding principles of justice and humanity, which cannot be set at naught without a shock to human nature itself, so foul a wrong as Slavery can receive no voluntary support from the Commonwealth of Nations. It is not a question of law but a question of Morality. The Rule of Law is sometimes less comprehensive than the Rule of Morality, so that the latter may positively condemn what the former silently tolerates. But within its own domain the Rule of Morality cannot be less authoritative than the Rule of Law itself. It is, indeed, nothing less than the Law of Nature and also the Law of God. If we listen to a Heathen teacher we shall confess its binding power. "Law," says CICERO, "is the highest reason implanted in nature, *which prescribes those things which ought to be done, and forbids the contrary*." (*De Legibus*, lib. ii., cap. 5.) This law is an essential part of International Law, as is also Christianity itself, and, where treaties fail and usage is silent, it is the only law between nations. Jurists of all ages and countries have delighted to acknowledge its authority, if it spoke only in the still small voice of conscience. A celebrated professor of Germany in our own day, SAVIGNY, whose name is honored by the students of jurisprudence everywhere, touches upon this monitor of nations, when he declares that "there may exist between nations a *common consciousness of Right* similar to that which engenders the Positive Law of particular nations."—(*System des heutigen Römischen Rechts*, I. viii., cap. II., § II.) But this common consciousness of right is identical with that law, which, according to CICERO, is "the highest reason implanted in nature." Such is the *Rule of Morality*.

The Rule of Morality differs from the Rule of Law in this respect: that the former finds its support in the human conscience; the latter in the sanctions of public force. But moral power prevails with a good man as much as if it were physical. I know no different rule for a good nation than for a good man. I am sure that a good nation will not do what a good man would scorn to do.

But there is a rule of prudence superadded to the Rule of Morality. GROTIUS in discussing treaties does not forget the wisdom of SOLOMON, who, in not a few places, warns against fellowship with the wicked, although he adds, that these were maxims of prudence and not of law.—(Lib. ii., cap. 15, § 9.) And he reminds us of the saying of ALEXANDER, "that those grievously offend who enter the service of Barbarians." (*Ibid*, § II.) But better still are the words of the wise historian of classical antiquity, who enjoins upon a Commonwealth the duty of considering carefully, when sued for assistance, "whether what is sought is sufficiently pious, safe, glorious, *or on the other hand unbecoming*."—(*Belluci Fragm.*, iv. 2.) and also those words of Scripture which after rebuking an alliance with Ahab, ask with scorn, "Shouldst thou help the ungodly?" (2 Chron., xiv., 2.)

If the claim for Recognition be brought to the touchstone of these principles, it will be easy to decide it.

Vain is it to urge the *Practice of Nations* in its behalf. Never before in history has such a candidacy been put forward *in the name of Slavery*; and the terrible outrage is aggravated by the Christian light which surrounds it. This is not the age of darkness. But even in the Dark Ages, when the Slavemongers of Algiers "had reduced themselves to a Government or State," the renowned LOUIS IX. "treated them as a nest of wasps." (I Phillimore, p. 80.) Afterward, but slowly, they obtained "the rights of legation" and "the reputation of a Government;" but at last, weary of their criminal pretensions, the aroused vengeance of Great Britain and France blotted out this Power from the list of nations. LOUIS XI., who has been described as "the sovereign who best understood his interest," indignant at RICHARD III., of England, who had murdered two infants in the tower, and usurped the crown, sent back his Ambassadors without holding any intercourse with them. This is a valuable precedent; for the parricide usurper of England had never murdered so many infants, or usurped so much as the pretended Slave Power, which is strangely tolerated by the sagacious sovereign who sits on the throne of LOUIS XI. But it is not necessary to go so far in history, nor to dwell on the practice of nations in withholding or conceding Recognition. The whole matter is stated by BURKE, with his customary power:

"In the case of a divided kingdom by the Law of Nations, Great Britain, like every other Power, is free to take any part she pleases. *She may decline, with more or less formality, according to her discretion, to acknowledge this new system*; or she may recognize it as a government *de facto*, setting aside all discussion of its original legality, and considering the ancient monarchy as at an end. The Law of Nations leaves our court open to this choice. The declaration of a *new sæ ira* of government on new principles, is a real crisis in the politics of Europe."—*Thoughts on French Affairs*, 1791.

Another eloquent publicist, Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, while urging on Parliament the Recognition of Spanish America, says: "The reception of a new State into the society of civilized nations by those acts which amount to recognition is a proceeding which, as it has no legal character, *is purely of a moral nature*;" and he proceeds to argue that since England is "the only ancient ly free State in the world, for her to refuse her *moral aid to communities struggling for liberty*, is an act of unnatural harshness." (*Mackintosh's Works*, vol. iii. p. 438.) Thus does he vindicate Recognition for the sake of freedom. How truly he would have repelled any Recognition for the sake of Slavery let his life testify.

But, perhaps, no better testimony to the practice of nations can be found than in the words of VATTEL, whose work, presenting the subject in a familiar form, has done more during the last century to fashion opinion on the Law of Nations than any other authority. Here it is, briefly:

"If there be any nation that *makes an open profession* of trampling justice under foot, of despising and violating the right of others, whenever it finds an opportunity, the interest of human society will authorize all others to humble and chastise it." (*Book* ii., cap. 4, § 70.) "*To form one's support an unjust pretension* is to do an injury, not only to him who is interested in this pretension, but to mock at justice in general and to injure all nations." (*Ibid.*) "He who assists an odious tyrant—he who declares for an unjust and rebellious people—violates his duty." (*Ibid.* § 56.) "As to those monsters who, under the title of sovereigns, render themselves the scourges and the horror of the human race, they are savage beasts, whom every brave man may justly exterminate from the face of the earth." (*Ibid.*) "But if the maxims of a religion tend to establish it by violence and to oppress all those who will not embrace it, the law of nature forbids us to favor that religion or to contract any unnecessary alliance with its inhuman followers, and the common safety of mankind invites them rather to enter into an *alliance against such a people; to repress such outrageous fanatics, who disturb the public repose and threaten all nations*." (*Ibid*, Book ii., cap. 12, § 162.)

Vainly do you urge this recognition on any principle of the *Comity of Nations*. This is an expansive term, into which enters much of the refinements, amenities and hospitalities of Civilization, and also something of the obligations of moral duty. But where an act is prejudicial to national interests or contrary to national policy, or questionable in morals, it cannot be commended by any considerations of courtesy. There is a paramount duty which must not be betrayed by a kiss. For the sake of Comity, acts of good will and friendship not required by law are performed between nations; but an English Court has authoritatively declared that this principle cannot prevail "where it violates the law of our own country, the law of Nature, or the Law of God;" and on this admitting ground the war was decided, that an American slave, who had found shelter on board of a British man-of-war, could not be recognised as a slave. (*Forbes vs. Cochrane*, 2 Barn. and Cres., R. 448.) But the same principle would prevail against the Recognition of a new Slave Nation.

Vainly do you urge this Recognition on any reason of *Peace*. There can be no peace founded on injustice; and any Recognition is an injustice which will cry aloud resounding through the universe. You may seem to have peace; but it will be only a smothered war, destined to break forth in war more direful than before.

Thus is every argument for Recognition repelled, whether it be under the sounding words, Practice of Nations—Comity of Nations—or Peace. There is nothing in Practice, nothing in Comity, nothing in Peace, which is not against any such shameful surrender.

But applying the principles which have been already set forth;—assuming what cannot be denied,—that every Power is free to refuse Recognition; assuming that it is not every body of men that can be considered a Commonwealth, but only "those associated *under the sanction of justice* and for the common good"—that men "banded together for the sake of systematic crime" cannot be considered a Commonwealth;—assuming that every member of the Family of Nations will surely obey the Rule of Morality; that it will "shun fellowship with the wicked," that it will not "enter into the service of Barbarians," that it will avoid what is "unbecoming" and do that only which is "pious, safe and glorious;" and that above all things it will not enter into an alliance "to help the ungodly;" assuming these things—*every* such member must reject with indignation a new pretension whose declared principle of association is so essentially wicked. Here there can be no question. The case is plain; nor is any language of contumely or scorn too strong to express the irrepressible repugnance to such a pretension, which, like vice, "to be hated needs only to be seen." Surely there can be no Christian Power which will not leap to expose it, saying with irresistible voice: (1.) No *new* sanction of Slavery. (2.) No *new* quickening of Slavery in its active and aggressive Barbarism. (3.) No *new* encouragement to the filibusters" engendered by Slavery. (4.) No *new* creation of *Slave territory*. (5.) No *new* creation of a *Slave Navy*. (6.) *No new Slave Nation*. (7.) No installation of Slavery as a *new* Civilization. But all this Litany will fail, if Recognition prevails—from which Good Lord deliver us! Nor will this be the end of the evil.

Slavery, through the *new* Power, will take its place in the Parliament of mankind, with all the immunities of an Independent Nation, ready always to uphold and advance itself, and organised as an unrelenting Propaganda of the new Faith. A Power, having its inspiration in such a Barbarism, must be essentially barbarous; founded on the asserted right to whip women and to sell children, it must assume a character of disgusting hardihood, and, openly professing a determination to revolutionize the Public Opinion of the world, it must be in open schism with Civilization itself, so that all its influences will be wild, savage, brutal, and all its offspring kindred in character.

Pard genders pard; from tigers, tigers spring;
No dove is hatched beneath the vulture's wing.

Such a Power, from its very nature, must be Despotism at home "tempered only by assassination," with cotton-fields instead of Siberia, while abroad it must be aggressive, dangerous and revolting, in itself a *Magnum Latrocinium*, whose fellowship can have nothing but "the filthiness of Evil," and whose very existence will be an intolerable nuisance. When DANTE, in the vindictive judgment which he hurled against his own Florence, called it *bordello*, he did not use a term too strong for the mighty House of Ill-fame which the Christian Powers are now asked for the first time to license. Such must be the character of the new Power. But though only a recent wrong, and pleading no prescription, the infinitable audacity of its nature will hesitate at nothing; nor is there anything offensive or detestable which it will not absorb into itself. It will be an Ishmael with its hand against every man. It will be a brood of Harpies defiling all which it cannot steal. It will be the one-eyed Cyclop of nations, seeing only through Slavery, spurning all as fools who do not see likewise, and bellowing forth in savage egotism:

"Know then, we Cyclops are a *race above*
Those air-bred people and their goat-nursed Jove;
And learn our power proceeds with thee and thine
Not as you will, but *as ourselves incline*."

Or worse still, it will be the soulless monster of Frankenstein—the wretched creation of mortal science without God—endowed with life, and nothing else—forever raging madly, the scandal to humanity—powerful only for evil—whose destruction will be essential to the peace of the world.

Who can welcome such a creation? Who can consort with it? There is something loathsome in the idea. There is contamination even in the thought. If you live with the lame, says the ancient proverb, you will learn to limp; if you keep in the kitchen, you will smell of smoke; if you touch pitch, you will be defiled. But what lameness so pitiful as that of this pretended Power; what smoke so foul as its breath; what pitch so defiling as its touch? It is an Oriental saying that a cistern of rosewater will become impure if a dog be dropt into it; but a continent of rosewater with rebel Slavemonger would be changed into a vulgar puddle. Imagine, if you please, whatever is most disgusting, and this pretended power is more disgusting still. Naturalists report that the pike will swallow any thing except its toad; but this it cannot do. The experiment has been tried, and, though this fish, in its voracity, always gulps whatever is thrown to it, yet invariably it spews this nuisance from its throat. But our Slavemonger pretension is worse than the toad; and yet there are foreign nations which, instead of spewing it forth, are already turning it like a precious morsel on the tongue.

But there is yet another ground on which I make this appeal. It is a part of the triumphs of civilization, that no nation can act for itself alone. Whatever it does, for good or for evil, affects the rest. Therefore a nation cannot forget its obligations to others. Especially does International Law, when it declares the absolute equality of independent nations, cast upon all nations the duty of considering well how this privilege shall be bestowed, so that the welfare of all may be best upheld. But the whole family of nations would be degraded by admitting this new pretension to any toleration, much less to any equality. There can be no reason for such admission; for it can bring nothing to the general weal. Civil society is created for safety and tranquility. Nations come together and fraternise for the common good. But this hateful pretension can do nothing but evil for civil society at home or for nations in their relations with each other. It can show no title to recognition; no passport for its travels; no old creation. It is all new; and here let me borrow the language of BURKE on another occasion: "It is not a new power of an old kind. *It is a new power of a new species*. When such a questionable shape is *to be admitted for the first time* into the brotherhood of Christendom, it is not a mere matter of idle curiosity to consider *how far it is in its nature alliable with the rest*." (*Regicide Peace, 2d Letter.*) The greatest of corporations is a nation; the sublimest of all associations is that which is composed of nations, independent and equal, knit together in the bonds of peaceful Fraternity as the great Christian Commonwealth. The Slavemongers may be a corporation *in fact*; but no such corporation can find a place in that sublime Commonwealth. As well admit the Thugs, whose first article of faith is to kill a stranger—or the Buccaneers, those old "brothers of the coast," who plundered on the sea—or, better still, revive the old Kingdom of the Assassins, where the king was an assassin, surrounded by counselors and generals who were assassins, and all his subjects were assassins. Or yet again, better at once and openly recognize Anti-Christ, who is the supreme and highest impersonation of the Slave-Power.

Amidst the general degradation that would follow such an obeisance to Slavery, there are two Christian Powers that would appear in sad and shameful eminence. I refer to Great Britain—the declared "protectress of the African race"—and to France, the declared champion of "ideas"—who, from the very largess of their pledges, are so situated that they cannot desert the good old cause and turn their backs upon civilization without a *criminal self-stultification*, which no amount of apologies can conceal. Where then would be British devotion to the African race? Where then would be French devotion to ideas? Remembered only to point a tale and ad

The New-York Times.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1863.

Amusements this Evening.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC—Piano-forte Matinee.

BARNUM'S MUSEUM—Sioux and Winnebago Indians and Squaws—Dramatic Performances at 3 and 7½ o'clock P. M. Curiosities at all hours.

NIBLO'S GARDEN—Hamlet.

WALLACK'S—True to the Last—The Ghost.

WINTER GARDEN—The Mystery of Audley Court.

IRVING HALL—Fallon's Stereopticon.

ALHAMBRA PAVILION—The Bedouin Arabs.

NEW-YORK THEATRE, (No. 485 Broadway)—Raoul; Or, The Magic Star.

THE NEW-YORK TIMES.

The price of the New-York Times (Daily) is Three Cents, except of the Sunday morning edition, which is Four Cents.

To Mail Subscribers the price is $8 per annum:—including the Sunday morning edition, it is $10.

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One copy one year	$3 00
Two copies one year	5 00
Five copies one year	12 00

The price of the Weekly Times is:

One copy one year	$2 00
Three copies one year	5 00
Ten copies one year	15 00
Twenty copies one year	25 00

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To any person who will send us a Club of Twenty, the Semi-Weekly Times will be sent gratuitously for one year. To any one sending us a Club of *Fifty*, the Daily Times will be sent gratis for one year. Address

H. J. RAYMOND & CO., Publishers.

To Advertisers.

Advertisers in the Times are requested to bring in their notices at as early an hour in the day as possible. If received after 8½ o'clock, it will be impossible to classify them under their proper heads.

☞ Revenue Stamps for Checks, in sheets, for sale at Times Counting-Room.

NEWS OF THE DAY.

We have this morning full confirmation of the news of the occupation of Chattanooga by a portion of Gen. Rosecrans' army, published yesterday. Gen. Crittenden took peaceable possession on Thursday, and Gen. Wood was put in command of the place. The rebel infantry evacuated the place on Wednesday morning, but the cavalry did not leave until a short time before our forces entered it. The rebel line of retreat is along the Georgia State line of railroad, which is threatened by our advance, and is quite likely to be interfered with.

East Tennessee may now be considered as fully redeemed to the Union, as the last hold of the rebels upon it—Cumberland Gap—has fallen into our possession. The War Department received intelligence yesterday that the rebel garrison there surrendered on Wednesday afternoon, without firing a gun. The captures, we learn by a dispatch from Cincinnati, were 2,000 men and 14 pieces of artillery. The rebel garrison was commanded by Gen. Fraser.

Our advices from Morris Island direct are to the afternoon of Tuesday last—brought to Fortress Monroe by the steamer *New-York* yesterday. The island had been completely in our possession since Sunday. The rebels left behind them all their guns, nineteen in number, and seventy-five of their men were captured, instead of twelve, as reported in the rebel dispatches. When the *New-York* left two monitors and the *Ironsides* were bombarding Fort Moultrie, and it was reported that the rebel magazine had been blown up.

Gen. Gillmore's official report of the capture of batteries Wagner and Gregg is received. He states that our sappers had succeeded in carrying the crest of the counterscarp of Fort Wagner on its sea point, and an order had been issued to carry the place by assault on the morning of the 7th. On the night of the 6th, however, the enemy evacuated the island. They left everything behind them, including a large supply of excellent ammunition. Gen. Gillmore closes his dispatch with the announcement that the city and harbor of Charleston are now covered by his guns.

Our Washington correspondent has no doubt, from testimony in his possession, that within the last week or two Lee's army has been considerably depleted to reinforce Bragg and Beauregard.

The work laid out for Gen. Blunt and Gen. Steele in Arkansas is being accomplished in the best style, and soon the entire State will be in a condition to reassert its old love for the Union. On the 1st inst. Gen. Blunt took possession of Fort Smith, a force of 4,000 rebels in the vicinity skedaddling on the previous night. A portion of our forces pursued them twenty miles, and after a brief engagement scattered them in all directions. We also have the news of the evacuation of Little Rock by the rebels.

A letter from Norfolk professes to give the details of a plan which the rebels have on foot for the recapture of that city. It says that the expedition against the city is to be committed to Gen. Longstreet, and several Generals of lesser light, who are well acquainted with the topography of the country. The forces are to be divided and advanced from three different points. A large body of troops will be massed at Suffolk, to make a feint, and draw our troops there, while the attack is being made upon the city by another body, advancing through Princess Ann County with a strong reserve. A third party is to appear in the vicinity of Sewell's Point, while all this is going on, to attract the troops stationed north of the city.

GENERAL NEWS.

The Democratic State Convention closed its labors yesterday. The platform adopted reaffirms the one of 1862, with additions regretting the President's recent letter, declaring the Constitution obligatory upon the Government and people in time of war as well as of peace, thanking the soldiers of the State for their gallantry, condemning the Conscription act, deprecating mob violence, and indorsing the Administration of Gov. Seymour in every respect. The ticket nominated is as follows:

Secretary of State	D. B. St. John.
Comptroller	Sanford E. Church.
Attorney-General	M. B. Champlin.
State Engineer	Van R. Richmond.
Treasurer	Wm. B. Lewis.
Canal Commissioner	W. W. Wright.
Inspector of State Prisons	D. B. McNeil.
Judge of Appeals	Wm. F. Allen.

Bermuda papers of the 2d instant have been received, but they contain no news. The rebel steamer *Eugenia*, from Wilmington, N. C., with 401 bales of cotton, arrived at St. George on the 25th ult.

The price of Gold and Exchange were one per cent. lower yesterday on the news from Charleston and Chattanooga. The railway speculation was spirited, though the ultimate differences in price were against the market as compared with Tuesday afternoon. Money easy at 7 per cent.

Breadstuffs were in moderate demand, yesterday. Flour, Wheat and Corn were declining; Oats were advancing. Provisions were in limited request and heavy. Groceries, Petroleum, Hay, Hops and Whisky were active and buoyant. Cotton was depressed and tending downward. The movements in other articles were restricted. Moderate freight engagements were reported at drooping rates.

Our Foreign Relations—Mr. Sumner's Speech.

We give up one-half of the entire surface of to-day's issue of the Times to the important speech upon our Foreign Relations, delivered by Senator Sumner, in this City, last night. The subject at the present moment is one of such deep public interest, and of such overshadowing National importance, that we believe we cannot do a greater service than by giving in full the views of one who, by his official position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, by his relations with some of the foremost publicists of England and France, and by his intimate knowledge of the whole subject, is capable of speaking with intelligence, if not with authority.

We can give no analysis or estimate of the discourse at this moment, as it was a late hour of the night before he concluded its delivery; but every intelligent citizen will doubtless give due study to its views and statements—which, we need not say, are set forth in a style highly ornate yet lucid, and distinguished by all the characteristics of a professed orator.

The Copperhead State Convention.

This body took its place in Tweedle Hall with very much the same air that the culprit goes into the dock—as different from the bearing of the "unterrified Democracy" of other days as can be well imagined. It showed at once that it felt itself on the defence, and that the evidence was to be terribly against it. From the beginning to the end, it seemed to think of nothing but extenuation and deprecation. It did not challenge acquittal, but begged merciful consideration; and begged it, too, with a hang-dog look that unmistakably indicated that it had no hope of anything of the kind.

The unprecedented expedient was resorted to of summoning the Governor of the State to make a plea for the party. Gov. Seymour did his extraordinary part with very good grace. His long and elaborate speech was, with excellent judgment, pitched in a very humble key. It is impossible to conceive of a greater contrast between the tone and the spirit of this production, and that of the speech made by the same tongue in the Academy of Music in this City, on the Fourth of July last. This is as bland and as submissive, and supplicatory, as that was bitter and factious, and defiant. Honest men can attribute this difference to but one cause. The July speech was concocted at the very darkest hour of the struggle. Vicksburgh had not fallen; Gettysburgh had not been fought. Lee was marching in triumph through Pennsylvania, and the hearts of even the bravest were throbbing with fear lest Meade's army would be overwhelmed, and the rebel flag, within ten days, should flout in Baltimore and Philadelphia, or over the National Capitol itself. It was in that fearful crisis that Horatio Seymour stood up before his followers in this City, and spent two good hours in seeking to arouse every malignant passion of the human heart against the Government. Had he been thoroughly persuaded that Lee was to triumph, and that his own business was to open the way for reconstruction *under* "the Confederacy," he could not have shaped his speech more fitly. That speech stands; it will not be forgotten, though times have changed. The Government is no longer pressed. Lee was overwhelmed, Vicksburgh became ours, and the glorious old flag has ever since gone on from conquering to conquer. When this same Horatio Seymour now courts the Union cause and speaks fair words for the war, an intelligent people will rate his blandishments at their real worth. He may protest with all the courtly grace he is master of, "I have never sought to embarrass this Government"—it will not avail. The record will stand as indissoluble as the adamant that he has done everything he dared to do to embarrass it by word and by act. Every man knows that his whole course has been in a different direction from that of Gov. Curtin, or Gov. Tod, or Gov. Morton, or Gov. Yates, and that it finally led to the necessity of garrisoning this City with forty regiments of troops in order that the laws of the Government might be enforced. Times have changed; and for aught we know Gov. Seymour's feelings may have changed with them. Very likely he may now not be at all disposed "to embarrass the Government." But nothing he can now say or do can obliterate the flagitious fact that when the Government most needed the moral and the material aid incident to his position, he devoted himself with greatest zeal to make it the object of popular distrust and hatred; and that he has systematically put obstacles in its path that it has never had to encounter in any other loyal State of this Union.

The resolutions of the Convention were all couched in the same subdued phrase. They evince a studious care to avoid all sharp issues, and confine themselves as far as possible to vague generalities. Notwithstanding all the vehement denunciation spent last Spring upon the President for his action toward Vallandigham,—action which Gov. Seymour, in his famous letter to the Albany Convention, treated as good and sufficient reason for stopping the war—not the remotest allusion is made to the case. In its place is an unmeaning resolution, restricted to the citizens of the State of New-York, and expressed in terms that no sane man would think of disputing. A sop is thrown to the soldiers for their courage and fortitude; but absolute silence is maintained on the question of giving them the suffrage, on which the Union Convention declared itself so explicitly. Not a word is uttered against the *constitutionality* of the Conscription act, upon which the Copperhead organs were at one time so obstreperous; the objections are all of the milder sort. The Anti-Conscription mob is allowed to have been "lawless and reckless." There is a resolution against any "claim of the right by the Federal Government to obliterate State boundaries and State rights," in which a doctrine is imputed to the Administration that it never held or thought of holding. As it stands it is unintelligible, and is sheer maundering. Again, there is another resolution, making a merit of repudiating the doctrine that "the President may dispense with the Constitution in time of war." There is no such doctrine. All that is contended for is, that the Constitution, in giving the right to make war, embraces *war powers*, and that therefore these war powers are constitutional. The man who denies it must call every march of our army over a rebel's field a trespass; every appropriation of a rebel's horse a robbery; every killing of a rebel in the field of battle, without judge or jury, a murder.

The single peace resolution, instead of being a denunciation of the management of the war, simply asks the Government to "manifest a policy of conciliation." But it exhibits a very prudent reserve in regard to the sort of conciliation and its method. It says nothing of any proclamation of amnesty—nothing of any overtures, or other advances, to the rebel Government or army. It opens no path, it suggests no measure. It says just enough to keep in countenance its old "olive branch" principles, and yet is very chary of committing itself against the prosecution of the war. The President, as is shown in his correspondence with Fernando Wood, believes in conciliation as firmly as any man; but he believes in it *after* the rebels have grounded their arms, and not before. He does not choose to put himself in the same attitude before armed traitors that Horatio Seymour did before the mob, and by entreaties and false promises try to wheedle them into a return to duty. With Washington, he believes that such public enemies are to be met by "authority," and not by "influence," and that the only condition of clemency must be *first* "a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws." The Convention did not venture to put forth distinctly any other doctrine. It was burdened with a sense that the people would not stand any other doctrine, and it therefore took care that its deliverance on the subject should be as indefinite and as wide from the real issue as possible.

The Convention throughout was a tame affair. It seemed to be haunted with a presentiment that the popular verdict was to be against it. It was its misfortune to meet under the shadow of the brightening fortunes of the war, and with a year's record of a State administration replete with guilt and shame. It was a mighty change from the situation last year, and the effect was just what might have been anticipated.

The Supervisors' Loan.

Less than half of the money called for by the Board of Supervisors under the Two Million Relief ordinance has as yet been subscribed. We hope the whole of the sum that is still lacking will be promptly furnished by the Insurance Companies and by capitalists. A good part of the subscriptions thus far has come from those who are not in the habit of subscribing to public loans. Yet this loan is an inviting and perfectly safe one, and there is no doubt of its legalization by the Legislature. If the amount called for were subscribed at once, the operations of the Supervisors' Committee would very soon be brought to a just and satisfactory close.

The Common Council Three Million bill, on the other hand, is neither fair nor honest. Its aim and spirit are entirely different from those of the Supervisors' provision. It is quite certain that this loan will never proceed any further than the bill calling for it.

The Supervisors' Committee are now holding daily sessions, and are performing their duties with eminent satisfaction to all parties. The cases of the drafted men who claim the benefit of the bill are examined into with the greatest care. As far as is possible, every man is required to furnish a substitute, and to the latter, after proper examination, and after his entry into the service, the $300, which thus becomes a bounty, are paid. If it is impossible for the drafted man to furnish a substitute the Committee themselves furnish one for him. Of the sixty-two drafted men before the Committee on Wednesday, every one furnished a substitute, and yesterday forty substitutes were furnished. The Supervisors' bill thus subserves the object of procuring men for the army and filling up the ranks. The Common Council bill, if it were carried into effect, would subserve no such object. It was not intended as a means of furnishing recruits, but simply as a means for plundering the public, and distributing the plunder among such men as constituted our July rioters. No money, no trust was ever more honestly administered than the loan of the Board of Supervisors. The Committee is absolutely non-partisan—its members consisting of equal numbers from the two great political bodies. Mayor Opdyke himself does not exceed Sheriff Lynch in his labors and anxieties to carry out faithfully and patriotically the principles of the bill, and to secure justice at once to the public, to those who are drafted and to the substitutes—as well as to secure recruits to our armies.

We trust, therefore, that that part of the Supervisors' loan as yet untaken will at once be promptly subscribed.

Operations on the North Carolina Coast.

The United States steam transport *Daniel Webster*, Phillips, from Fortress Monroe in twenty-four hours, arrived last night. On the 9th inst., at 10½ A. M., inside of Cape Henry, was boarded by a boat belonging to frigate *Minnesota*, from the blockading fleet, off Wilmington, N. C. She reported being on shore with her boats, and had a fight with some rebels, killing twelve, and capturing two guns, which they brought with them. The *Minnesota* is bound up to Fortress Monroe. At 2 P. M., off Hog Island, exchanged signals with steamships *Baltic* and *Atlantic*, bound South.

OPERATIONS AGAINST CHARLESTON

Nineteen Guns and Seventy-five Men Captured on Morris Island.

The Magazine of Moultrie Reported Blown Up.

GEN. GILLMORE'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

Fortress Monroe, Thursday, Sept. 10.

The steamer *New-York*, Capt. Chisholm, arrived to day from Morris Island.

Capt. Chisholm reports that he left at 3 o'clock Tuesday afternoon. Morris Island had been completely in our possession since Sunday.

We captured 21 guns and 75 men.

Two monitors and the *Ironsides* were besieging Fort Moultrie when the *New-York* left.

It was reported that we had blown up the magazine in Moultrie.

NEWS RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON.

Washington, Thursday, Sept. 10.

Col. Edward E. Potter, Chief of Staff, telegraphed from Fortress Monroe to-day to Gen. Halleck that when on Tuesday afternoon Capt. Chisholm, of the steamer *New-York*, left Charleston harbor, the rebel flag was still flying at Fort Sumter, but no guns were mounted, and only a very small force remained there.

Five monitors and the *Ironsides* engaged Batteries Beauregard and Bee from 5 A. M. until 2 P. M. on Tuesday, the 8th. A shell from one of the monitors exploded in the magazine of Fort Moultrie, and the southwestern parapet was seriously damaged by the explosion.

OFFICIAL DISPATCH FROM GEN. GILLMORE.

Washington, Thursday, Sept. 10.

The following was received here this afternoon:

Department of the South, Headquarters in the Field, Sept. 7, 1863.

Major-Gen. H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief:

General: I have the honor to report that Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg are ours. Last night our sappers crowned the crest of the counterscarp of Fort Wagner on the sea front, masking all its guns; and an order was issued to carry the place by assault at 9 o'clock this morning, that being the hour of low tide.

About 10 o'clock last night the enemy commenced evacuating the island, and all but 75 of them made their escape from Cummings Point in small boats.

Captured dispatches show that Fort Wagner was commanded by Col. Keitt, of South Carolina, and garrisoned by 1,400 effective men; and Battery Gregg by between 100 and 200. Fort Wagner is a work of the most formidable kind, its bomb-proof shelter, capable of holding 1,800 men, remaining intact after the most terrible bombardment to which any work was ever subjected.

We have captured 19 pieces of artillery and a large supply of excellent ammunition.

The city and harbor of Charleston are now completely covered by my guns.

I have the honor to be, General, very

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

Q. A. GILLMORE,

Brig.-Gen. Commanding.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON.

OUR SPECIAL WASHINGTON DISPATCHES.

Washington, Thursday, Sept. 10.

ANOTHER REBEL INVASION URGED.

The Richmond *Enquirer* of the 7th urges Lee to a new invasion of Pennsylvania, in a leader of which the following is a sample extract:

"The success of the Northern Democratic party would be no longer doubtful should Gen. Lee once more advance on Meade. Parties in the United States are so nearly balanced, that the least advantage thrown in favor of one will insure its success. Should the Confederate army remain quiescent on the banks of the Rappahannock, the boastful braggadocio of the Yankee official reports will be confirmed, and Lincoln and Halleck will point in triumph to the crippled condition of the Confederate army as a confirmation of the great victory won in Pennsylvania.

The Democrats, unable to gainsay such evidence, will be constrained to enter the contest for the Speakership shorn of the principal part of their strength—the disgraceful mismanagement and conduct of the war. Gen. Lee must turn politician as well as warrior, and we believe he will prove the most successful politician the Confederacy has ever produced. He may so move and direct his army as to produce political results which in their bearing upon this war will prove more effectual than the bloodiest victories. *Let him drive Meade into Washington and he will again raise the spirits of the Democrats, confirm their timid and give confidence to their wavering. He will embolden the Peace party should he again cross the Potomac,* for he will show the people of Pennsylvania how little security they have from Lincoln for the protection of their homes. It matters not whether the advance be made for purposes of permanent occupation or simply for a grand raid, it will demonstrate that in the third year of the war they are so far from the subjugation of the Confederate States that the defence of Maryland and Pennsylvania has not yet been secured. A Fall campaign into Pennsylvania, with the hands of our soldiers untied—not for indiscriminate plunder, demoralizing and undisciplining the army, but a campaign for systematic and organized retaliation and punishment—would arouse the popular mind to the uncertainty and insecurity of Pennsylvania. This would react upon the representatives in Congress, strengthening the Democrats and mollifying even Hardshell fanaticism itself. The damages which the last campaign inflicted, if augmented by another this Fall, when presented to the Lincoln Government, would, unless paid, greatly exasperate the people against an Administration which neither defends the State nor reimburses its citizens for the losses which its own imbecility has produced. And if these damages are paid the debt is increased, the taxes raised, and the burdens imposed, will accomplish the same end. Let the great and important fact be constantly kept in tangible and threatening aspect before the people of Pennsylvania that, notwithstanding they have opened the Mississippi and are besieging Charleston and threatening East Tennessee, and Georgia and Alabama—that, notwithstanding all this, Pennsylvania is not safe from invasion, and Washington City is again beleaguered in this third year of the war. *The road to peace lies through Pennsylvania, via Washington."*

DEPLETION OF LEE'S ARMY.

There is scarcely a doubt that Lee's army is being depleted to reinforce Beauregard and Bragg. Up to within a week there was no positive evidence that this was so, but it is now reduced to a certainty. Our intelligence to this effect is corroborated by advices from L. L. Crounse, who writes that Longstreet's corps has been ordered West and South, the larger portion of it going to Bragg, the balance, probably one division, to Charleston. Hoop's division of this corps moved from their camp near Fredericksburgh on Tuesday morning, the 8th, at 3 o'clock, and it is quite generally understood among their private soldiers that it was going to Charleston. A column of fifteen to twenty thousand men can, in one week, be easily thrown by the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad to Bristol or Greensville, in East Tennessee.

DISPATCHES TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Washington, Thursday, Sept. 10.

TRADE IN TENNESSEE.

A deputation of Nashville merchants waited upon Secretary Chase to-day, to ask for the removal of certain restrictions from the trade of Nashville and Middle Tennessee. It is probable that the object of their visit will be accomplished in the pending modifications of commercial regulations applicable to Western commerce.

A RAILROAD INJUNCTION.

The Supreme Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, to-day granted an injunction in favor of the Washington, Alexandria and Georgetown Railroad Company against the Corporation of Washington. This indicates a final settlement of the protracted controversy, which will leave the Company in full possession of their franchise. They are now building across the Potomac a substantial railroad bridge, which is far advanced toward completion.

PENSIONS.

During the month of August there were granted enrolled army pensions to 1,368 widows, mothers, &c., and 1,052 to others.

THE CAPTURE OF CHATTANOOGA.

Gen. Wood in Command of the Place.

THE REBELS IN RAPID RETREAT.

Our Advance Threatening the Georgia State Road.

Cincinnati, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A special dispatch to the *Gazette*, from Trenton, Ga., 9th, says:

"At 12 o'clock to-day Gen. Crittenden took peaceable possession of Chattanooga.

Gen. Wood was put in command of the place.

The principal portion of the rebel infantry left Chattanooga yesterday morning—their cavalry remaining till this morning.

The headquarters of the department will probably be at Chattanooga to-morrow.

The rebels are in rapid retreat, but our combinations are such that they can hardly get off with all their forces. They are cutting down trees and using other means to obstruct our further passage over the mountains.

Our advance threatens the Georgia State Road, which is the rebel line of retreat."

CUMBERLAND GAP IN OUR POSSESSION.

It is Surrendered Without a Gun Being Fired.

2,000 Prisoners and 14 Pieces of Artillery Captured.

Enthusiastic Reception of Our Forces in Knoxville.

Washington, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A telegram received at 11 A. M. to-day from the operator at Crab Orchard, states that Cumberland Gap surrendered yesterday afternoon, Sept. 9, at 4 o'clock, without the firing of a gun.

Cincinnati, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A dispatch to the *Times*, dated Cumberland Gap, 9th inst., says:

"Gen. Fraser, with 2,000 men and 14 pieces of artillery, surrendered at 4 o'clock to-day to Gen. Shackelford, commanding Gen. Burnside's advance. Our forces are now in possession of the Gap."

Cincinnati, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A dispatch to the *Gazette*, dated Knoxville, 6th, says:

The great campaign of the war is over. We are in full possession of East Tennessee—a great bloodless victory. The campaign was skillfully planned and energetically executed. Such was the rapidity of our movements, that the rebels, taken unawares, fled before us without destroying property. At Loudon they attempted to hold the bridge, but the impetuosity of the Second Tennessee regiment broke them to fragments. Three steamboats, three locomotives, and a large number of cars were captured there. The whole march of our army was a perfect ovation, and our entry into Knoxville an event long to be remembered. Thousands of people, of every age, size, color and condition lined the way their shouts and tears intermingled with martial music, and joy reigned supreme.

Gen. Burnside's address to the soldiers and people assured them of protection, and that while justice should be dealt, revenge was no part of the policy of the Government.

Gen. Carter also spoke in touching terms of their sufferings, and praised their determination and courage. Col. Saunders was called out amid shouts of welcome.

Col. Gilbert has been appointed Military Governor, and Gen. Carter Provost Marshal-General of East Tennessee.

A second dispatch says: "Our right wing is within easy reach of Gen. Rosecrans' left. The rebels regarded our expedition as a raid until the last moment. The march of 250 miles was a hard one, but was conducted in good order. Our trains are all well up with their columns."

FURTHER FROM JAPAN.

The Japanese Government Seeking to Avoid a War.

San Francisco, Monday, Sept. 7.

By further accounts from Japan it appears that the Japanese Government had attempted to avoid war with foreigners, having not only paid all the indemnity demanded by England, but also made a satisfactory apology; but this displeased the Damios, and much discontent existed throughout the country. A Damio, who owns territory along the Strait of Sirnowski, in the Province of Nagoti, recklessly fired from his forts upon ships of all nationalities that passed.

He had also two steamers fitted up as war vessels, with heavy guns, which aided the forts in the attack. These are the vessels supposed to have been destroyed by the *Wyoming*. At the latest dates a large British fleet was at Kanagawa, under Admiral Kepper, and was about to sail for the Strait of Simoniski. It is further stated that the Prince of Nagoti does not care for reverses, as he has the assurance that nearly all the Damios will soon join him in active hostilities. The largest fire of many years took place in Yeddo July 18. The residences of thirty Damios and a vast amount of property were destroyed.

IMPORTANT FROM ARKANSAS.

Capture of Fort Smith by General Blunt.

Little Rock Evacuated by the Rebels.

Leavenworth, Thursday, Sept. 10.

Official intelligence of the capture of Fort Smith, Ark., reached here this evening.

On the 31st ult., Gen. Blunt encamped within two miles of Cooper and Cabell, who had a force of 4,000 rebels west of the fort. Next morning he marched to attack them, but they had fled. Col. Cloud chased Cabell twenty miles south, and had a brief engagement, but after a few rounds Cabell's men fled in all directions. Our loss was eight wounded. Capt. Lane, of the Second Kansas regiment, was killed.

Before Col. Cloud returned Gen. Blunt fell seriously ill, and he will return homeward as soon as he can sit up.

The Creeks have nearly all deserted the rebels McIntosh has gone toward Red River with only 150 men out of his two regiments. No rebel force will remain in the Indian Territory.

Contrabands are flocking to Fort Smith.

The rebels have evacuated Little Rock and removed forty miles to Fort Washington, which they are fortifying.

THE ENGAGEMENT AT BAYOU METARIE.

Cincinnati, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A special to the *Commercial*, from Duvall's Bluff, Aug. 29, states that Gen. Davidson moved on the rebel works at Bayou Metoir on the 27th, and after an engagement of an hour and a quarter, succeeded in driving the rebels from their intrenchments. The engagement was confined to artillery and sharpshooters firing from under cover. The rebels had 3,000 men and three pieces of artillery. They retreated across the river, burning the bridge behind them, and took up a strong position in the woods on the west side of the bayou, where their sharpshooters can pick off any person approaching the east bank.

The bayou cannot be crossed without pontoons.

Gen. Steele moves forward in the morning.

NEWS FROM MEXICO.

Miramon Appointed by Forey Commander of the Mexican Forces—Doings of the "Triumvirate," &c.

San Francisco, Wednesday, Sept. 9.

Arrived, steamer *Orizaba*, from Panama. She brings dates *via* Manzanilla from Guanajuato to the 19th ult. and from the City of Mexico to the 15th ult.

Miramon had been appointed by Gen. Forey commander of the Mexican forces.

The Triumvirate had notified the representatives of foreign Governments that a legal Government has been provided for Mexico, and they had been requested to recognize the Triumvirate as constituting such Government.

The American and Central American Ministers replied that they must recognize the Juarez Government until further instructions from their Governments.

Comonfort and Doblado had published strong appeals urging the Mexicans to continue to respect the French.

California and British Columbia.

San Francisco, Tuesday, Sept. 8.

Sailed, ship *Orpheus*, for Liverpool, with 400 barrels copper ore, 300 casks tallow, 2,500 sacks wheat.

Three passengers, who arrived yesterday from British Columbia per steamer *Brother Jonathan*, deposited in the San Francisco Mint 12,000 ounces of gold-dust, worth $200,000. This treasure was not on the steamer's manifest, but was concealed by the owners in their baggage to save freight-money. The owners employed twenty men part of last year in exploring their mines in Caraboo District, and commenced to take out gold in January, and 100 ounces have been taken out in a single day. The average yield was 100 ounces per day. Mining news from Caraboo District on the whole is favorable. Rich quartz veins had been discovered. A few of the principal claims continued to pay largely. In others there was considerable disappointment on account of delayed returns.

Arrived—Ship *Windward*, from New-York.

Arrived—Steamer *Brother Jonathan*, from the Northern coast, with $106,000 in treasure from Victoria, and $135,000 from Oregon.

The Kansas Troubles.

THE RECENT ARREST OF MAYOR ANTHONY.

St. Louis, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A special dispatch to the *Democrat* from Leavenworth, 9th, says: Mayor Anthony was arrested by two detectives, aided by twenty soldiers, who, without a word with friends, or a moment's delay, placed him in a wagon and started toward Kansas City at a rapid pace. Mayor Anthony was taken to Gen. Ewing's headquarters, and after two hours' consultation with the detectives and some telegraphing to Leavenworth, was released. During his arrest he was by order of Gen. Ewing prohibited from private conversation, and from telegraphing or writing to his friends in Leavenworth, without submitting his dispatches or letters to Gen. Ewing. The Mayor returned this evening. Hundreds of citizens are going out to meet him. He addressed a vast throng for two or three hours, giving a long statement of the facts of his arrest, and denouncing Ewing in bitter terms. He said Ewing had agreed to revoke his order declaring martial law, and that no detective should hereafter arrest any citizen. Everybody here without respect to party, denounces the arrest in unqualified terms.

St. Louis, Thursday, Sept. 10.

A special to the *Democrat* dated Leavenworth 9th, says:

The meeting at Paola, yesterday, was organized by appointing Lieutenant-Gov. Osborne, chairman. The crowd in attendance numbered over 3,500 armed men. Many were prevented from coming by Gen. Schofield's order and the rain storm. Gen. Lane was introduced and spoke in the open air for three hours. The rain poured down incessantly. He was very bitter on Gen. Schofield, and the Gamble resolutions were adopted, declaring that the policy now forced upon Missouri and Kansas, is one which will give immunity to the rebel sympathizers, and expose loyalists to massacre; that clemency to guerrillas and rebels is cruelty to loyalists; that the loyal people who furnish the army and popular power which sustain the Government, have a legitimate right to a voice in the selection of a military commander to rule over them; that the reëstablishment of the Department of Kansas is imperatively demanded; that peace, security or success in the field cannot be expected until the vast territory embraced in this Department is placed under the control of a single commander-in-chief; inasmuch as the people of Kansas are able and willing to destroy bushwhackers, and their services are requested by Schofield's order No. 92, which prohibits them from crossing the line, the military authorities are asked for immunity, rest and security in the future, and for this purpose it is demanded that they station in every neighborhood in Southern Kansas a sufficient force to secure the protection of the inhabitants; that the military authorities shall seize 300 of the men who are bushwhackers to-day and farmers to-morrow, and hold them as hostages, to be executed whenever a raid is made upon Kansas; that if the Government continues to impose on us an offensive system, we ask our Congressional delegation to urge the immediate return of every Kansas regiment.

Eighteen delegates were appointed to visit Washington.

Judge Cadwallader's Decision on the Enrollment Act.

Philadelphia, Thursday, Sept. 10.

Judge Cadwallader, of the United States District Court, in a case before him yesterday, declared the Enrollment Act constitutional.

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

THE PLATFORM LAID DOWN.

President Lincoln's Letter "Regretted."

The State Ticket—D. B. St. John for Secretary of State.

ALBANY, Thursday, Sept. 10.

The Democratic Union State Convention re-assembled at 10 o'clock this morning, when the delegations from the several Judicial Districts reported the following selections for members of the State Committee:

First District, Peter B. Sweeney and John E. Develin; Second District, Homer A. Nelson and Benjamin J. Carpenter; Third District, Peter Cagger and Jacob Hardenburgh; Fourth District, R. H. Cushney and Edwin Dodge; Fifth District, John A. Greene, Jr., and Lorenzo Carroll; Sixth District, Duncan C. Magee and Dow Russell; Seventh District, Wm. C. Rowley and Elmere P. Ross; Eighth District, Dean Richmond and A. P. Laning.

The report was adopted.

HENRY C. MURPHY, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following series, remarking that they had been agreed upon without dissent:

Resolved, That we reaffirm the platform adopted by the Democratic Convention of 1862, viz: *First*—that we will continue to render the Government our sincere and united support in the use of all legitimate means to suppress the rebellion and to restore "the Union as it was," and to maintain "the Constitution as it is, "believing that sacred instrument founded in wisdom by our fathers, clothes the constituted authorities with full power to accomplish such purpose; *Second*—that by the following resolution, unanimously passed by Congress in July, 1861, the Government was pledged to the policy inculcated therein, and which cannot be departed from without violation of the public faith:

"*Resolved*, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States now in arms against the constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest, or for interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity and rights of the several States unimpaired—and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Third—That we having confidence in the loyalty of the citizens of the State of New-York, reiterate the sentiments heretofore expressed by the Democratic party, that illegal and unconstitutional arrests and imprisonment of citizens of this State are without the justification of necessity, and should be discontinued; and we denounce such arrests as a usurpation and a crime, and that the freedom of the Press, equally protected by the Constitution, ought to be maintained.

Resolved, That in view of our recent victories, and the manifestations of a returning allegiance on the part of North Carolina and other seceded States, it becomes the Government to manifest a policy of conciliation—that such policy is demanded alike by patriotism and by a wise statesmanship which seeks to avoid the uncertainties of the future by bringing this exhausting war to a speedy close, not only by the exertion of power, but by an enlarged line of action, which shall encourage the Union sentiment of the South and unite more thoroughly the people of the North—that, therefore, we regret President LINCOLN'S late letter, which, while reiterating the visionary and unconstitutionality of the emancipation policy, contemplating no measure for the restoration of the Union, but looking to an indefinite protraction of the war for abolition purposes, points to no future but national bankruptcy and the subversion of our institutions.

Resolved, That the doctrine of the right of States to secede from the Federal Government is not more false to the Constitution, than the claim of the right by the Federal Government, to obliterate State boundaries and State rights, and that, therefore, we repudiate the doctrine put forward by the Administration—"that no seceded State returning to its allegiance, shall be permitted to resume its place in the Union, until it has conformed in its Constitution to the will of the party in power."

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States is obligatory upon the Government and the People in time of War as well as in Peace, and the doctrine that the President may dispense with the Constitution in time of War, subverts all constitutional liberty, and turns the Government into a military despotism, and is a revival of the odious prerogatives of the dispensing power claimed by the SOVEREIGNS of England.

Resolved, That the thanks of the people of the State are due to the gallant soldiers of New-York, who, on the first intimation of public danger, voluntarily rallied to the standard of the country, and who have borne it victorious through so many battle-fields: we shall ever honor the memory of those who have fallen; we will ever cherish and protect the brave survivors.

Resolved, That the abortive results of the recent Conscription act of Congress, not less unjust, vexatious and oppressive, both in its character and manner of execution, which have excited general distrust, should admonish the Administration how much wiser it would be to place its reliance on the voluntary action of a gallant and patriotic people, ever ready to defend their institutions and their honor.

Resolved, That we condemn all mob violence as a crime against the people and against Republican government; that whether the spirit of misrule and disregard of constitutional and legal obligations take the form of the "higher law of fanaticism," or "the lower law of the mob," they are equally emanations of the spirit of disloyalty, and should be suppressed at all hazards.

Resolved, That the administration of HORATIO SEYMOUR as Governor of New-York, meets our highest approval—his devotion to the dignity and interests of the State—his fearless assertion of the rights of the citizen—his fidelity to the Constitution, the administrative energy evinced in promptly sending the militia of the State to repel the invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate forces, and the vigor which he displayed in putting down a lawless and reckless mob, and the statesmanship exhibited in his whole public action, present a record of which not only our own State but the whole American people may justly be proud.

Adopted without debate.

The Convention then proceeded to the nomination of candidates.

The following is the result of the first ballot for Secretary of State:

Geo. G. Scott	39	Chas. Goodyear	25
John J. Taylor	32	F. D. Flanders	2
D. B. St. John	36		

On the second ballot the name of CHAS. GOODYEAR was withdrawn:

D. B. St. John	53	John J. Taylor	31
Geo. G. Scott	41		

On the third ballot the name of JOHN J. TAYLOR was withdrawn:

D. B. St. John	67	F. D. Flanders	2
Geo. G. Scott	58		

Whereupon the nomination of D. B. ST. JOHN for candidate for Secretary of State was made unanimous.

SANFORD E. CHURCH was nominated for Comptroller by acclamation.

For Attorney-General, AMASA J. PARKER, JAMES S. THAYER, M. B. CHAMPLIN, GILBERT DEAN and A. S. SULLIVAN were named. Mr. PARKER and Mr. THAYER declined, and the ballot resulted as follows:

M. B. Champlin	117	A. S. Sullivan	2
Gilbert Dean	31		

The nomination of M. D. CHAMPLIN was made unanimous.

For State Engineer, VAN R. RICHMOND received 1100 votes and E. S. CROCKER 17 votes, and the nomination of Mr. RICHMOND was made unanimous.

For Treasurer, WM. B. LEWIS, PHILIP J. PORTHEIMER and S. S. HAMELL were nominated, and the ballot resulted as follows:

Wm. B. Lewis	72	P. J. Portheimer	5
S. S. Hamell	42		

The nomination of Mr. LEWIS was made unanimous.

For Canal Commissioner, W. W. WRIGHT was nominated by acclamation.

For Inspector of State Prisons:

D. B. McNeil	84	Bishop Perkins	6
Geo. Kuester	18	F. D. Flanders	1
Dr. Bergemann	8		

On motion of Mr. PURDY, the nomination of Mr. DAVID B. MCNEIL was made unanimous.

WM. F. ALLEN, of Oswego, was nominated by acclamation for Judge of the Court of Appeals.

The thanks of the Convention were then voted to the officers, and with cheers for the ticket, for Gov. SEYMOUR and Gen. MCCLELLAN, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Meeting of State Committees.

ALBANY, Thursday, Sept. 10.

The Constitutional Union Executive Committee adjourned to-day, after resolving not to take any further action at present with regard to filling the balance of their ticket.

The Anti-Prohibition State Committee have resolved to hold their annual State Convention at the Voorhees House in Syracuse, Oct. 1.

The Democratic State Committee met at the Delevan House this afternoon, and organized by electing DEAN RICHMOND Chairman, and PETER CAGGER Secretary.

Informal Opening of the Park Theatre, Brooklyn.

Last night Manager HARRISON opened his new theatre to the inspection of his friends, the Press, and many of the principal citizens of Brooklyn. The house was brilliantly illuminated throughout, and the spacious saloons in the front of the building as well as the auditorium of the theatre were filled with a gay and fashionable assemblage. Mr. HARRISON, Mr. BAKER, the stage manager, Mr. ROGERS, the Treasurer, and Mr. BENTON, the proprietor of the house, were everywhere present making welcome their guests and disclosing the beauties of one of the prettiest places of entertainments in the country.

The peculiar beauty and harmony of color which, in a large degree, assist in rendering the theatre so decided an artistic success, were the theme of universal comment. The fresco work deserves the notice of every lover of art in our midst. It is the first American effort of the artist, Mr. WILMARTH.

The orchestra is well-balanced and in admirable temper, forming an attraction which the music-lovers of Brooklyn will not fail to regard.

On Monday night Mr. HARRISON will open the Park to the public with "Married Life" and "The Loan of a Lover." The books are ready this morning at the box office.

THE REBEL PIRATE GEORGIA.

Capture of the Ships Constitution and City of Bath.

Capt. WEBSTER, late of the ship *Constitution*, captured by the privateer *Georgia*, makes the following statement: June 25, at 6 A. M., in sight of the Island of Trinidad, South Atlantic Ocean, lat. 20° 31' S., long. 29° 16' W., made a steamer with English colors flying, close under the land; I hoisted the American ensign and continued on my course with all sail set, the steamer steering directly for us; 8 A. M. she fired a blank cartridge; I paid no attention, but continued on my course; 8:30 A. M. she fired two shots, which fell short; at 9 A. M., steamer being near, and seeing no way to escape, I deemed it best to heave to; in the meantime they had lowered the English and hoisted the Confederate flag; they came alongside and sent a boat with First Lieutenant and boat's crew, all armed, on board, demanded the ship's papers, and ordered me on board the steamer; the commander, Capt. MAURY, who after examining the papers, told me he considered my ship a prize to the Confederate steamer *Georgia*, and myself and crew prisoners, ordering us on board our ship to stand in under the island and anchor in twenty fathoms. Having anchored about 4 o'clock, the steamer keeping near by, the prize crew then took full charge and commenced searching the ship, taking all the fire arms, chronometers, quadrants, sextant and charts, with all navigation books, and even the knives and razors belonging to us. On the 26th commenced taking out some of the cargo, which, being coal, they were glad to get. On the 28th the steamer took the ship *City of Bath*, from Callao for Antwerp, said ship having a French cargo; they ransomed her for $20,000; we were put on board of her, not having sufficient water; touched at Pernambuco, where my crew were delivered to the American Consul—14 men—six having joined the steamer; myself and family, with first and second officers remained on board the *City of Bath*, as the Consul would do nothing for us. When standing into Pernambuco Roads saw the United States steamer *Vanderbilt*, and signalized her; she sent a boat on board to whom we gave the whereabouts of the *Georgia*, and how they might be likely to find her, as she secretes herself under the island and cannot be seen more than four or five miles off.

Aug. 17, in lat. 32° 30', lon. 40° 30', fell in with Italian bark *Emma*, Capt. CONESSA, for New-York, who kindly received us on board, giving us every accommodation in his power, for which myself, wife and officers take this method of returning our sincere thanks for his kindness while on his vessel.

The *Constitution* was from New-York for Shanghai, with a cargo of 996 tons of coal, and was owned by NAPIER & WELSFORD, of this City.

Two Pirate Steamers off Fayal.

A correspondent writes to the New-Bedford *Standard*, from Fayal, under date of July 25, as follows:

"On the 8th and 14th of this month two steamers were seen off Flores. One was seen to overhaul a schooner. She was a two-masted steamer. The other was a three-masted steamer, and was seen in chase of a Dutch ship. She would not stop until the steamer fired three shots at her. This will be a good warning to our outward bound whalers. The news comes from St. George's this morning that there was a naval battle fought between the *Kearsarge* and another vessel unknown. The *Kearsarge* on the 22d took the British steamer *Tuna*, off these Islands, but let her go after detaining her twenty-four hours. We expect to hear that more whalers have been burnt.

Lord Lyons.

QUEBEC, Thursday, Sept. 10.

Lord LYONS leaves for Montreal to-day, whence he proceeds to Frederickton, N. B.

New Governors are to be appointed for New-Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

A survey has been ordered to find an interior route for an Intercolonial Railway.

Railway Accident.

CINCINNATI, Thursday, Sept. 10.

On Tuesday night, during a severe storm, the freight train on the Little Miami Railroad ran into a broken culvert near Corwin, instantly killing the engineer, fireman and brakeman. Four cars laden with whisky and tobacco took fire, and were consumed.

Sporting.

The base ball match between the Atlantics and Mutuals was played yesterday at Hoboken, and was won by the Atlantics, by 15 to 11.

Trotting Match at Union Course.

A trotting match takes place to-day on the Union Course for $2,000, mile heats, best three in five, in harness, between two celebrated Eastern horses, who have made their mile in less than 2:30.

MONETARY AFFAIRS.

Sales at the Stock Exchange....SEPT. 10, 1863.

$5,000 U. S. 6s, '81 Co	106⅜	400 Bucks Co. L. Co	2¾
2,500 Treas. 7.3-10 p.ct. Notes...Oct.&Ap	106⅞	600 N.Y. Cen. R	133¼
9,000 do	107	1800 do	133⅜
17,000 U.S. 6s.1-yr.c	99⅜	700 do	133⅜
1,000 Ohio St. 6s. '86	109	500 do	133⅝
1,000 Ill. War Loan	100	1450 do	133¾
1,000 N. C. State 6s	66	200 do	s30. 133⅜
3,000 Mo. State 6s	70	50 do	s30. 133⅝
15,000 do	70⅛	600 do	b10 134
10,000 do	70⅜	32 Erie R. Pref	105
11,000 N. Y. C. 6s	107	200 do	105⅛
1,000 N.Y.C.7s	103	50 do	105¼
20,500 Hud R. 3d M	129	200 do	s20. 105
2,000 Mich. So. 2d M	105⅜	100 do	b15. 105⅜
3,000 Hud. R. 2d S. F.	119	200 do	b30. 105⅝
4,000 Mich. S. S. F.	112	100 Hudson R. R.	141
4,000 Ill. Cen. R. B.	117	400 do	142
4,000 Alt. & T. H. In. B.	85	500 do	142⅝
5,000 C. & N. W. 2d	66¾	800 Har. Railroad	140
1,000 Mil. & P. D. C. 1st	103⅜	100 do	s30. 140⅝
2,000 P., Ft. W. & C. 1st	103⅝	100 do	s10. 141
31,000 Am. Gold	131⅜	600 do	142
1,500 do	131⅝	300 do	141⅜
45,000 do	131½	200 Harlem R. Pref	s3. 135
5500 Canton Company	33	950 M. S. & N. I.	94
525 do	32¾	100 do	94⅛
50 Bank of Commerce	103⅜	450 do	94⅜
10 Imp. & Trad. Bank	108½	100 do	s10 94
10 Market Bank	103	150 do	b10 94⅛
500 Am. Coal Co	68	100 do	94½
100 Del. & H. Ca. Co	100	250 Mich. Cen. R	120
10 do	101	100 do	119⅜
100 Cumb. Coal. Pref	32	100 Clev. & Tol. R	116¾
500 do	32⅛	100 do	117
100 do	b30 33	300 Ill. Cen. R. S	126
200 do	s3 32	1100 do	126⅛
100 Quicksilv. M. Co	66	400 do	126¾
100 do	65	5000 Ill. Cen. Can. B. S.	105
150 do	64	500 Clev. & P. R	100¾
100 do	63	600 do	100⅝
100 do	62	200 do	100
300 Pacific M. S. Co	224	100 Gal. & Chi. R	108⅝
100 do	b30. 226	150 do	108⅞
500 Reading R	117	12 do	108
300 do	s30. 116⅜	100 Chi. & R. Is	s30. 108⅜
200 do	s30. 116⅝	150 do	s30. 108¾
600 do	b15. 117	100 do	109
300 do	b30 117	50 Chi. B. & Q. R.	122
200 do	b10. 116⅞	500 Mil. & P. D. C. R.	77
500 do	116⅝	200 do	b30 78
500 do	s15. 116⅜	100 do	78⅜
400 do	116⅜	300 do	b10 77⅜
1650 Erie R.	107	100 Tol. & Wab.	74⅜
100 do	s15 107	100 do	74
500 do	106⅜	350 Pitt., F. W. & C.	83⅜
600 do	b10. 107	100 do	s30 83¾
100 do	b15. 107	100 do	83⅜
100 do	b30. 107	200 do	b15 84
150 do	106⅝	100 do	b30 84¼
200 do	s30. 106⅜	300 A. & T. H. R.	62
400 do	b30 106⅜	150 Chi. & N. W.	36¼
500 do	106⅜	250 do	36⅜
300 do	106⅜	50 Chi. & Alt. P.	90
1300 do	106¼	100 Mar. & Cin. 2d Pref	40
100 do	s30. 106	60 Little Miami R.	129

SECOND BOARD.

4,000 Mo. St. 6s	70¼	1200 Reading R	b10. 118
5,000 do	70¾	1900 do	118
10,000 do	70¾	800 do	117⅜
6,000 Tenn. State 6s, '90	66	300 M. S. & N. I.	94⅛
550 Canton Co	33	200 do	94¾
100 do	s10 33	200 M. S. & N. I. G. S.	132
100 Cumb Coal Pfd	32⅜	50 Nor. & Wor. R	92
200 do	32⅜	400 Ill. Cen. R. S	127⅛
100 do	s15 32	500 do	127¾
25 do	32	150 Clev. & P. R	100
100 N. Y. C. R	125	100 do	b10 100
250 do	131⅞	200 do	99¾
2000 do	131½	1000 do	b30 100
40 do	131	200 Gal. & Chic. R	109
600 Erie R	107	200 Cleve. & Tol. R	117¾
100 do	b10. 107	500 do	b10 118½
300 do	b30. 107⅛	150 Chi. & R. I. R.	109
200 do	106⅞	100 do	b30 106⅝
1000 Harlem R	145	100 do	103⅜
200 do	145¼	500 P., Ft. W. & C	84
150 do	145⅜	100 do	84⅜

PUBLIC BOARD—1 P. M.

350 Cum. Coal Pref	32⅜	600 Reading R	117⅜
100 do	c 32⅜	250 M. S. & N. I.	95⅜
100 Canton Co	b3 33	100 do	s3 96⅜
800 Quartz H. M. Co	s30 19¼	800 do	c 96⅞
400 do	19¾	800 do	c 96
1200 Bucks Co. L. Co	2¾	300 do	s3 95
1050 do	b3 2¾	900 do	s10 95
250 do	2¾	100 do	95
500 do	b3 2¾	500 do	s10 94⅞
800 N. Y. Cen. R	134⅛	500 Ill. Cen. R-S	127
1100 do	c 134⅜	1000 Clev. & Pitts. R	100¾
100 do	s10. 134	100 Gal. & Chi. R	109
100 do	c. 134	900 Clev. & Tol	b3. 118
500 do	s3. 134	200 do	118
100 do	s3. 134⅛	100 Chic. & N. W. R	33⅜
1100 Erie Railway	107	300 do	36⅜
200 do	s3. 106⅞	300 Al. & Ter. H. P.	86⅜
100 do	106⅝	100 do	b3 86⅜
200 do	b3 107	200 Pitts., Ft. W. & Chi.	83⅜
400 do	c. 106¾	200 do	c 84¾
1500 Harlem R	145	200 do	84⅜
100 do	s10. 134	100 do	b3 84⅜
100 do	s3. 134⅛	100 do	s3 84¾
1100 Erie Railway	107	300 do	85⅜
200 do	s3. 106⅞	100 do	b3 86⅛
100 do	106⅝	200 do	c 84¾
200 do	b3 107	200 do	84⅜
400 do	c. 106¾	100 do	b3 84⅜
1500 Harlem R	145	100 do	s3 84¾
100 do	s10. 134	400 do	85⅜
100 do	c. 134	200 do	105⅞
500 do	s3. 134	600 do	b3. 106⅛
100 do	s3. 134⅛	100 do	106⅝
1100 Erie Railway	107	600 Harlem R	144
200 do	s3. 106⅞	300 do	144
100 do	106⅝	700 Reading R	117⅜
200 do	b3 107	100 do	117⅞
400 do	c. 106¾	300 do	117⅛
1500 Harlem R	145	100 Mich. Cen. R	119⅜
100 do	s10. 134	200 M. S. & N. I. R	94
100 do	s3. 134⅛	100 do	b3 94
1100 Erie Railway	107	850 do	93⅜
200 do	s3. 106⅞	200 do	93⅞
100 do	106⅝	300 do	s3 93⅝
200 do	b3 107	300 do	b3 93⅜
400 do	c. 106¾	100 do	b3 93⅜
1500 Harlem R	145	100 Ill. Cen. R. S	126⅜
100 do	s10. 134	100 do	126⅜
100 do	s3. 134⅛	100 Clev. & Pitts. R	99¼
1100 Erie Railway	107	700 do	99
200 do	s3. 106⅞		
100 do	106⅝		
200 do	b3 107		
400 do	c. 106¾		
1500 Harlem R	145		
100 do	s10. 134		
100 do	s3. 134⅛		
1100 Erie Railway	107	

GENERAL MARKETS.

NEW-YORK, Thursday, Sept. 10, 1863—6 P. M.

The receipts of the principal kinds of Produce since our last have been: 28 bbls. Ashes, 8,677 bbls. Flour, 164 bbls. and 155 bags Corn Meal, 24,108 bushels Wheat, 315 bushels Oats, 550 pkgs. Provisions, and 75 bbls. Whisky.

ASHES—Sales to-day, 50 bbls., including Pots at $7, and Pearls at $9 @ 100 lbs.

COFFEE—Sales, to-day, 300 mats Java, at 36c.; 200 bags Ceylon, at 32c.; 380 bags Maracaibo, part at 29c.; 850 bags Rio and Santos, part at 28c.@28¾c., and 70 bags St. Domingo, at 24½c. ₱ lb.

COTTON—Has been quiet and depressed. Middlings, 69c.@69¾c. ₱ lb. Sales and resales, 650 bales.

FLOUR AND MEAL—State and Western Flour is in less demand, and all other trade brands of fresh ground are heavy, cheaper and irregular. Sales, since our last, 14,500 bbls., including Unsound at $4 05@$4 60; Superfine State and Western at $4@$4 50; poor to choice extra State at $4 75@$5 35, chiefly at $4 90@$5; round hoop extra Ohio, shipping brands, at $5 10@$5 45 ₱ bbl.

Superfine State and Western	$4 00	@$4 50
Extra State	4 75	@ 5 35
Extra Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, &c.	4 35	@ 7 00
Extra Ohio round-hoop, shipping brds.	5 10	@ 5 45
Extra Ohio, trade brands	5 50	@ 7 00
Extra Genesee	5 45	@ 7 00
Inferior to Choice Extra Missouri	5 40	@ 8 50

Southern Flour is heavy and drooping. Sales, since our last, 1,850 bbls., at $5@$6 25 for poor to good supernne; $6 30@$7 75 for fancy to choice brands, and $7 80@$8 75 for very superior family brands, ₱ bbl. Canadian Flour is dull and heavy. Sales 380 bbls. Extra at $4 70@$7 ₱ bbl. Rye Flour is in moderate demand at $3 40@$5 20 for fine and superfine, ₱ bbl. Corn Meal is in fair request at $4 for Jersey, $4 25 for Marsh's Caloric, $4 30 for Atlantic Mills, and $4 50@$4 60 for Brandywine ₱ bbl. Sales 600 bbls.

GRAIN—Wheat has been in very moderate request to-day, and prices of most kinds have declined 1c.@3c. ₱ bushel—inferior and common qualities suffering most in this respect. Sales since our last, 68,500 bushels, including new White Western at $1 50; old White Western, at $1 36@$1 37½; Amber Western, at $1 21@$1 27½; Red Western, at $1 15@$1 20; inferior do., $1 05; Amber Iowa and Wisconsin, at $1 19@$1 20—the latter rate for Green Bay; Milwaukee Club, at 87c.@$1 12; Chicago Spring, at 83c.@$1 05 ₱ bushel. Corn is in less demand, and drooping prices. Sales have been reported of 59,000 bushels, at 75½c.@76c. for sound Mixed Western, afloat; 76c. for do. in store; 75c. for unsound do.; 77c@78c. for Yellow Western and White do., ₱ bushel. Rye continues quiet at 80c.@90c., according to quality, ₱ bushel. Oats are in good demand, including Canada at 57c.@66c.; Western at 62c.@72c.; State, at 65c.@72c. ₱ bushel. Barley and Barley Malt continue inactive at old prices.

HAY—North River Bale continues in fair demand at 85c.@$1 for new, and 90c.@$1 10 for old, ₱ 100 lbs.

HOPS—Have been in fair request and firm, at 17c. @23c. for last year's crop, ₱ lb.

LUMBER—Has been in fair request, and prices of desirable lots have been quite firm. Increased receipt have added largely to the stock in the Albany market. The *Evening Journal* says: "The assortment is fair, though some articles, as 2-inch Spruce, Hemlock Boards and Walnut, are scarce. The sales have been moderate at firm prices. The demand for Winter stock has begun, to show itself, and a quicker demand is now anticipated. The shipments have been and are still large, as there have been and still are a goodly number of vessels in port."

PROVISIONS—Pork has been in moderate demand at drooping prices. Sales, since our last, 1,600 bbls., in lots, at $11 75@$12 for Old Mess; $13 75 for New Mess, and $10 50@$10 75 for Prime ₱ bbl. Cut Meats are in moderate request at 8½c.@9¾c. for Hams, and 5c. @5½c. for Shoulders ₱ lb. Bacon is dull, to-day, at 6c.@6c. ₱ lb. Lard is unchanged; sales 1,270 tcs. and bbls. at 10c.@10¾c., including 250 tcs., reported sold for December delivery at 10¾c. ₱ lb. Beef rules quiet; sales 250 bbls., at $14@$15 for Extra Mess, and $10 50@$13 50 for Plain Mess, ₱ bbl. Butter continues inactive at 14c.@16c. for poor to choice Western, and 16c.@24c. for common to choice State, ₱ lb. Cheese is in limited demand at 8c.@12½c. ₱ lb.

RICE—Sales, 200 bags East India, part at $7 25 ₱ 100 lbs.

TALLOW—Sales, 65,000 lbs., at 10½c.@10¾c. ₱ lb.

WHISKY—Sales, 1,400 bbls., at 50c.@51c. ₱ gallon.

FREIGHTS—For Liverpool, the engagements included 3,800 bbls. Flour at 1s. 6d.@2s., by sailing vessel and steamer, ₱ bbl.; 35,000 bushels Grain, by do. and do., at 5d.@5½d. ₱ bushel; and 3,400 pkgs. Provisions, by steamer, at 30s.@40s. ₱ ton. For London—12,500 bbls. Flour at 2s. 3d.@2s. 6d. ₱ bbl.; 15,000 bushels Grain at 5s. 3d. ₱ quarter, and 50 bags Clover Seed at 25s. ₱ ton. For Cork and orders—24,000 bushels Corn at 5s. 7d. ₱ quarter.

MILITARY.

NEW-YORK COUNTY SUBSTITUTE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE.

NAMES AND PLACES OF MEETING OF AUXILIARY COMMITTEES.

The Committee announce hereby, that in pursuance of their request, made on the 2d instant, the Chairman of the Republican Central and Tammany Hall General Committees have each selected one gentleman in each Ward to meet daily at some place in their respective Wards, and give information and instruction to drafted persons desiring the aid of this Committee, and that the several Ward Committees named in the annexed list have agreed to the places and times of meeting, as also shown in connection with the said list.

GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor,
WM. M. TWEED, Supervisor,
WM. R. STEWART, Supervisor,
ORISON BLUNT, Supervisor,
ELIJAH F. PURDY, Supervisor,
Committee.

C. COSSON,
G. F. THOMSON, } Clerks.

WARD AUXILIARY COMMITTEES.

Ward.	Republicans.	Democrats.
1	James Marshall.	John Fox.
2	Matthew C. Fordham	Patrick McMahon.
3	John M. Cook.	John Hurley.
4	Henry H. Hentat.	John Y. Savage, Jr.
5	Joseph B. Taylor.	John Healy.
6	Owen W. Brennan.	William Neallis.
7	Charles H. Hal.	Patrick H. Keenan.
8	John I. Silcock.	Ralph Bogert.
9	James W. Booth	Charles J. Chipp.
10	David Miller.	Moses D. Gale.
11	Edward W. Collis.	Francis A. Boole.
12	Isaac B. Patchelo.	Jacob M. Long.
13	Henry A. Smith.	James Mahan.
14	E. A. Willoughby.	James Hayes.
15	Abraham Lent.	James J. Gumbleton.
16	Hugh Gardener.	Michael Halpin.
17	Wm. A. Smalley.	John Ryan.
18	John D. O'Lwell.	John Nesbitt.
19	Henry J. Armstrong.	Terence Farley.
20	John V. Gridley.	James Casey.
21	James Owens.	James Mahoney.
22	William Allen.	Alexander Ward.

Ward.	Places of Meeting.	Hours of Meeting.
1	No. 109 Greenwich-st	5 to 9 P. M.
2	No. 70 Cliff-st	5 to 9 P. M.
3	No. 106 Barc'ay-st	5 to 9 P. M.
4	No. 5 Duane-st	5 to 9 P. M.
5	Fifth Ward Hotel	2 to 9 A. M. and 5 to 9 P. M.
6	No. 69 Centre-st	5 to 9 P. M.
7	No. 173 Madison-st	5 to 9 P. M.
8	No. 339 Hudson-st	5 to 9 P. M.
9	No. 684 Greenwich-st	5 to 9 P. M.
10	No. 81 Ludlow-st	5 to 9 P. M.
11	No. 104 Av.-C	6 to 9 P. M.
12	Corner 12th-st. and 3d-av	5 to 9 P. M.
13	No. 38 Willett-st	5 to 9 P. M.
14	No. 47 Marion-st	6 to 9 P. M.
15	Corner Bowery and Houston-st	5 to 9 P. M.
16	No. 92 9th-av	5 to 9 P. M.
17	No. 208 1st-av	5 to 9 P. M.
18	No. 210 3d-av	6 to 9 P. M.
19	5th-st., between Lexington and 3d-avs. (Ashler's)	8 to 10 A.M. and 5 to 9 P. M.
20	34th-st. and 8th-av., Continental Hall	6 to 9 P. M.
21	32d-st. and 4th-av	5 to 9 P. M.
22		5 to 9 P. M.

WANTED,

TEN THOUSAND SUBSTITUTES

To whom THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS will be paid by the County Substitute and Relief Committee. Apply immediately to Nos. 71 and 73 Duane-st.

By order of the Committee,

GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor.
MATTHEW T. BRENNAN, Comptroller.
ELIJAH F. PURDY, Supervisor.
ORISON BLUNT, Supervisor.
WM. R. STEWART, Supervisor.
WM. M. TWEED, Supervisor.

CORNELIUS CORSON,
GEO. F. THOMPSON, } Clerks.

HEADQUARTERS PROVOST-MARSHAL, SIXTH DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, No. 135 6TH-AV., NEW-YORK, Sept. 10, 1863.

THE BOARD OF ENROLLMENT OF this District will hold sessions for the purpose of hearing claims for exemptions of parties drafted from the Ninth Ward on the 10th, 11th and 12th inst., between 9 A. M. and 4 P. M. Due notice will be given for the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Wards. JAMES W. FARR,
President Board of Enrollment.
CHARLES A. LAMONT, Commissioner.
JAMES W. POWELL, Surgeon.

HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-SECOND N. G. S. N. Y., NEW-YORK, Sept. 10, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS.—A RETURN OF ALL members of the regiment, residents of the State but non-residents of this county, who have been drafted, will be made by the commandants of companies, and sent in to these Headquarters before 10 o'clock P. M., of FRIDAY, Sept. 11, that measures may be taken to provide for their exemption. By order of

Acting Maj. GEO. B. POST, Commanding.
WM. J. A. MCGRATH, Adjutant.

ARMY MEDICAL BOARD, No. 458 BROOME-ST., NEW-YORK, Sept. 10, 1863.

THE ARMY MEDICAL BOARD, CONvened for the purpose of examining candidates for appointment as Surgeons and Assistant-Surgeons to colored troops, meet daily at No. 458 Broome-st.

Candidates for examination are requested to present themselves between the hours of 9 A. M. and 3 P. M.

SUBSTITUTES WANTED FOR CITY AND STATE, and the highest bounty paid. Call before engaging elsewhere, at No. 87 Westst., corner of Albany, up stairs. HENRY JAMES, Agent. Also wanted, men for the navy—5 men, coal-passers and landsmen.

EXEMPTS.—DRAFTED EXEMPTS CAN HAVE their papers prepared at No. 5 Beekman-st., Room No. 8, first floor, over Park Bank.

PRICE'S CIRCULATING LIBRARY, NO. 881 Broadway, near 14th-st. All the new books as soon as issued.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

FEMALES.

AS COOK.—ANY PARTY WISHING TO MAKE arrangements with a professed woman, cook will find one who cannot be surpassed in all styles of French, English and German cooking, confectionery, desserts, confectionery, both ornamental and plain, and in the management of fancy dinner parties, at No. 181 East 17th-st., between 1st and 2d avs., she having lived in this capacity for the last fifteen years in the best of places.

AS COOK.—A PROFESSED COOK WISHES A situation in a private family; understands the business thoroughly; the best of reference. Call at No. 70 West 24th-st.

AS CHAMBERMAID AND WAITRESS.—A Wanted, a situation by a respectable young woman as chambermaid and waitress, or to do chamber work and plain sewing; has excellent City references. Can be seen for two days at No. 93 East 32d-st., between 3d and Lexington avs.

AS CHAMBERMAID AND WAITRESS.—A Wanted, by a neat, tidy girl, with excellent City reference, a situation as chambermaid and waitress; would assist with the washing, or do the general housework of a small family; wages $7. Call at No. 192 East 21st-st.

AS CHAMBERMAID AND WAITRESS.—A situation wanted by a respectable young woman as chambermaid and waitress; can do plain sewing. Can be seen for four days at No. 47 Court-st., near Hoyt, Brooklyn.

AS NURSE.—WANTED, BY A NEAT TIDY woman, who is not afraid to work, a situation as nurse; takes charge of a baby or grown children; is willing and obliging; wages, $7; good City reference. Call or address No. 192 East 21st-st.

AS WET NURSE.—WANTED, A SITUATION as wet nurse by a respectable married woman, who is perfectly healthy. Apply immediately at 4 East 37th-st.

AS HOUSEKEEPER.—A MIDDLE-AGED American Protestant woman wants a situation as housekeeper. Is a thorough cook and baker, and handy with her needle. Address No. 37 Bleecker street. Will be promptly attended to. Wages moderate.

AS LAUNDRESS.—WANTED, A SITUATION by a highly respectable young woman as first-class laundress; understands all kinds of fluting; can be highly recommended by her last employer. Call at No. 218 7th-av., between 24th and 25th sts.

AS LAUNDRESS.—A SITUATION WANTED by a respectable Protestant woman as first-class laundress; has the best of City reference. Call at No. 6 East 31st-st., near 5th-av.

WANTED—BY A PROTESANT ENGLISH WOman, who can give the best of references, a situation to travel with the lady or family; she has no objections to go to the West Indies or any other part, or she is fully capable to take charge of two or three young children and instruct them. Apply for three days at No. 389 2d-av., between 24th and 25th sts.

MALES.

AS ASSISTANT BOOK-KEEPER.—WANTed, by a young man aged 19 years, a situation as assistant book-keeper, in some dry goods or mercantile house; is perfectly competent of keeping books by double entry, and can bring the best of City references; knows the English and German languages thoroughly. Address A. D., Box No. 198 *Times* Office.

AS SALESMAN, &c.—WANTED, BY AN ACtive man, (one willing to work, who has had fifteen years' experience in the dry-goods trade,) a situation as stock-keeper and salesman in some jobbing house in this City; can produce the best of references for honesty, sobriety, etc. Address H., No. 309 Broadway.

AS SALESMAN.—WANTED, BY A YOUNG man, a situation as salesman in a hardware house; will go West; best of reference given. Address C. D., Box No. 20 Post office, Wilmington, Del.

AS GARDENER.—WANTED A SITUATION, AS gardener, by a single man, thoroughly acquainted with ga dening and the care of a horse and carriage, and a cow if required; willing to make himself generally useful; can produce the best of reference. Address GARDENER, Box No. 216 *Times* Office.

AS GARDENER.—WANTED, A SITUATION AS gardener, by a single man, English; has a thorough knowledge of his business. Can give the best of reference. Call on or address G. L., at Smith's seedstore, No. 65 Liberty-st.

AS GARDENER.—A THOROUGH PRACTICAL gardener wants a situation; understands perfectly the management of green-house, graperies, &c.; is an Englishman; small family. Apply at Thorburn's, No. 15 John st., or at A. Reid's, No. 307 Broadway.

AS GARDENER.—WANTED, A SITUATION AS gardener by a married man with a small family; understands grapehouse, greenhouse and vegetables; good City reference. Apply at the seedstore, No. 67 Nassau-st.

AS COACHMAN.—A SITUATION WANTED BY a married man, (no encumbrance,) as coachman and groom; understands his business and can produce the best reference. Call or address ANDERSON, corner of 16th-st. and 4th-av., at Brady's stables, for two days.

AS COACHMAN.—WANTED, A SITUATION AS coachman or groom by a Protestant (American) man, who understands his business thoroughly; best of City reference from his last employer, whom he served eight years. Call at or address T. S., No. 113 West 15th-st.

AS COACHMAN AND GROOM.—WANTED, as a situation as coachman and groom, by a married man (English); is willing to make himself generally useful; wife is a first-class cook and laundress; can give the very best of City reference; terms moderate. Address G. A., Box No. 200 *Times* Office.

AS COACHMAN, &c.—A SINGLE MAN WANTS a situation as coachman, or coachman and gardener; understands his business in either capacity, and can give the best of City and country references. Address M. N., Box No. 200 *Times* Office.

AS COACHMAN.—WANTED, A SITUATION, by a single man, in a private family, who knows his business thoroughly; can give several years of the highest City recommendation. Address D. N., Box No. 208 *Times* Office, for two days.

AS COACHMAN AND GROOM.—WANTED, a situation by a respectable young man as coachman and groom; understands his business thoroughly, and will be found willing and obliging; best of reference. Address J. C., Box No. 194 *Times* Office.

AS WAITER.—WANTED, A SITUATION AS waiter in a private family; has the best of City reference from his last place; no objections to go to the country. Address C. C., No. 129 Clinton-place, 8th-st., Room No. 8

AS HEAD WAITER.—WANTED A SITUTION, by a competent colored man, as head waiter; he has served in that capacity for a number of years. Inquire at No. 69 West 24th-st., of Thomas Tufle, Esq.

BLAST FURNACE OR ROLLING-MILL.—Wanted, a situation as superintendent, agent or assistant superintendent in the running or building of such works, by a gentleman of experience in the business. Address F. M., Box No. 1,636 New-York Post-office.

HELP WANTED.

997 CLOAK-MAKERS WANTED.

We can give immediate and steady work and the highest pay to first-rate experienced hands, both basters and finishers. Also, operators on Grover & Baker's machines. Apply this day at the cloak manufactory, rear entrance. ALLEN & PAINE, No. 384 Broadway.

A SALESMAN AND TRAVELER.—AN OLD established wholesale paint house wish to engage the services of a first-class, capable man as salesman and traveler; applicants must thoroughly understand the business, and have a large acquaintance with the trade; all communications treated confidentially. Address J. B., Box No. 3,499 Post-office.

BOOK-KEEPER WANTED.—A PERMANENT situation, with moderate salary, may be had by addressing (with terms, &c.) Box No. 70 Post-office, Yonkers, N. Y.

WANTED—A JUNIOR CLERK IN THE BOOKstore of GEORGE R. LOCKWOOD, No. 411 Broadway.

A COOK AND LAUNDRESS.—WANTED FOR the country, a good English, Scotch or colored Protestant girl, to do the cooking, washing and ironing of a small family. Address Box No. 4,006 Post-office, stating where she may be seen.

A COOK AND LAUNDRESS.—WANTED, A German girl for housework, and to cook, wash and iron for four in family; must have City reference from last place. Call at No. 131 West 46th st., between 6th and 7th avs., Friday and Saturday, from 10 to 2 A. M.

A LAUNDRESS.—WANTED, A LAUNDRESS, and willing to assist in chamberwork, a Protestant, and with good City reference. Inquire at No. 7 East 32d-st., between 9 and 11 o'clock this morning.

WANTED.—A GOOD COOK, WASHER AND ironer, for a small family; also, a nurse to take charge of two small children. First-class references required. Apply to No. 254 West 12th-st.

WANTED.—A GOOD COOK, WASHER AND ironer, for a small family; also, a nurse to take charge of two small children. First-class references required. Apply to No. 254 West 12th-st.

WANTED—A TRAVELING AGENT FOR A FIRST class Life Insurance Company. Address Box No. 5,053 New-York Post-office.

WANTED—A LAD TO DO ERRANDS. APPLY to D. S. HAMMOND, No. 42 Warren-st.

STATIONERY.

THE BEST AND CHEAPEST INK.

AMERICAN UNION INK, jet black ink, flows freely, and does not corrode. Sold at No. 5 Ludlow-st., and at the stationers generally. JESSE G. KEYS.

SLOTE & JANES,

Stationers, Printers, and Blank Book Dealers, No. 93 Fulton-st. Orders respectfully solicited.

AT NO. 45 MAIDEN-LANE YOU WILL find blank books, writing papers and stationery articles, at moderate prices. Orders solicited. FRANCIS & LOUTREL, Stationers and Printers.

PRINTING.

CHEAPEST PRINTER IN THE WORLD.

BUSINESS CARDS, INCLUDING CARDS, $1 per 1,000. Billheads, $3 per 1,000. Circulars in large quantities, 50 cents per 1,000, and labels 40 cents. ALL KINDS OF BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING equally cheap. T. R. DAWLEY'S new establishment, No. 13 Park-row, opposite the Astor House.

ASTROLOGY.

THE GREAT AND REAL ASTROLOGER A. B. MAURICE, will unfold the meandering of the past, present and future, covering the whole field of all that relates to your happiness or misery through your whole life; he will bring success out of the most hopeless cases of any undertaking. All who consult him will have good luck through life. Fee—Ladies, 50 cents; gentlemen, $1. Hours until 8 in the evening. No. 126 Bleecker-st., near Wooster.

FINANCIAL.

AGENCY OF THE U. S. 5-20 YEAR 6 PER CENT LOAN.

OFFICE OF
LIVERMORE, CLEWS & CO.,
No. 34 WALL-ST., N. Y.

We are instructed to continue AS AGENTS to supply these Bonds AT PAR, interest in Gold, commencing at the time of subscription.

Orders accompanied by draft on current funds will receive prompt attention.

LIVERMORE, CLEWS & CO.,
BANKERS, AND DEALERS IN SECURITIES AND GOLD.

VERMILYE & CO.,

BANKERS, NO. 44 WALL-ST.,

Will continue to furnish

U. S. FIVE-TWENTY BONDS,

as long as issued by Government, at par and interest.

CHECKS ON CITY BANKS received in payment.

INTEREST on BONDS to commence on day of deposit.

CONSTANTLY ON HAND, for sale at market rate—

U. S. 6 PER CENT COUPON BONDS, of 1881.

U. S. CERTIFICATES OF INDEBTEDNESS—Interest payable in Gold.

U. S. CERTIFICATES OF INDEBTEDNESS—Interest payable in Currency.

SEVEN-THIRTY TREASURY NOTES.

VERMILYE & CO.

FARM MORTGAGE BONDS

ISSUED TO THE
MILWAUKEE AND MISSISSIPPI,
MILWAUKEE AND HORICON,
LA CROSSE AND MILWAUKEE
RAILROADS.
RAILROAD SECURITIES
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION,
STATE, CITY AND COUNTY BONDS
BOUGHT AND SOLD.

APPLY TO
GEORGE C. DUNBAR, No. 67 William-st.

AGENCY FOR THE SALE OF U. S. FIVE-TWENTY BONDS,

NO. 38 WALL-ST. NEW-YORK.

It having been determined to extend the time for the issue of FIVE-TWENTY BONDS, we shall continue to act as agents and furnish the bonds as heretofore, at par, with interest commencing from date of subscription.

FISK & HATCH,
BANKERS. NO. 38 WALL-ST., N. Y.

DREXEL, WINTHROP & CO.,

NO. 40 WALL-ST.,
BANKERS AND BROKERS,
DEALERS IN
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECURITIES
AND GOLD.

Stocks and Bonds bought and sold at the Brokers' Board on commission. Mercantile collections made on all points in the United States and Canada.

NOTICE.

The subscribers will resume their semi-weekly auction sales of Stocks and Bonds, on WEDNESDAYS and SATURDAYS, at the Exchange Salesroom, No. 111 Broadway, opposite Pine-st. Executors, Trustees and others who desire to avail themselves of this mode of disposing of securities, which has hitherto proved very satisfactory, will please send lists to the office of the undersigned, No. 55½ Pine-st. Sales will be made at Gilpin's Rooms, Nos. 25 and 28 Exchange-place, when desired.

ADRIAN H. MULLER, P. R. WILKINS & CO.,
Real Estate and Stock Auctioneers.

UNITED STATES 5-20 BONDS,

Ready for immediate delivery.
For sale by
DREXEL, WINTHROP & CO.,
No. 40 Wall-st.

$2,000,000 LOAN OF THE COUNTY OF NEW-YORK.

Subscriptions are hereby invited to a Loan of Two Million Dollars, authorized by an ordinance of the Board of Supervisors, approved by the Mayor, Aug. 28, 1863, entitled, "An ordinance to provide for the procurement of substitutes for certain citizens of the City and County of New-York, which have been or may hereafter be drafted to serve in the Army of the Union during the existing war and for other purposes."

The proper books for such subscriptions will be opened at the Comptroller's Office, on and after SATURDAY, the 29th of August, inst., and will remain open until the whole sum shall be taken.

Subscribers will be required to deposit with the County Treasurer at the Broadway Bank within five days after entering their subscriptions, the amounts subscribed for by them respectively; and on presenting his receipts for the money to the Comptroller, they will receive Bonds of the County for equal amounts, redeemable on or before Sept. 1, 1864, with interest from the date of payment at the rate of six per cent. per annum.

MATTHEW T. BRENNAN, Comptroller.
CITY OF NEW-YORK, DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE, Aug. 28, 1863.

AGENCY FOR THE SALE OF U. S. FIVE-TWENTY BONDS,

Office of
PARKE & BOWDOIN,
No. 76 Wall-st., corner of Pearl-st.

Having been appointed agents for the United States 5-20 Loan, we are prepared to receive subscriptions to the above *desirable* par. Interest in gold, commencing on the day of deposit. Orders accompanied by draft on this City will receive our prompt attention.

PARKE & BOWDOIN.

Stocks and Bonds bought and sold on commission at the Brokers' Board. Mercantile Paper and Loans negotiated.

TO CAPITALISTS.

COAL MINES FOR SALE.

The owner of certain coal mines in Nova Scotia offers them for sale. They are situated near Picton, are easy of access to vessels drawing eighteen feet, and the coal yielded by them is well and favorably known in this City, and more especially in the Massachusetts and Rhode Island trade. The mines offered adjoin other mines that have been for many years largely and profitably worked. They would be disposed of at a moderate price, and, to parties proposing to work them, upon easy terms. Maps and diagrams may be seen, and further information obtained, at the office of WESTERVELT & HALL,
No. 51 Exchange place.

BEEBEE, HODGES & CO.,

BROKERS,
No. 42 Exchange-place.
Gold, Stocks, Bonds, Government Securities, &c., bought and sold on commission.
Dividends collected.
Orders by mail will receive prompt attention.

ATLANTIC INSURANCE SCRIP,

1862 and 1863,
Wanted by WM. C. GILMAN,
Dealer in Marine and Fire Insurance Scrip,
No. 46 Pine-st.

BROWN BROTHERS & CO.,

NO. 59 WALL-ST.,
ISSUE COMMERCIAL AND TRAVELERS' CREDITS FOR USE IN THE COUNTRY AND ABROAD.

EDWARD KING

Offers his services at the Board of Brokers for the purchase or sale of STOCKS, BONDS AND GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, No. 4 Hanover-st.

BANK DEPARTMENT STATE OF NEW-YORK, ALBANY, March 11, 1863.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, PURSUANT to chapter 236, Laws of 1863, that the circulating notes issued to the Bowery Bank, of the City of New-York, will be redeemed at par by the Superintendent of the Banking Department, at the New-York State Bank, Albany, for (6) six years from this date, and not thereafter.

The outstanding circulating notes of said Bank must be presented as aforesaid for redemption within six years from the date of this notice, and all notes which shall not be thus presented for redemption and payment within the time thus specified will cease to be a charge upon the funds in the hands of the Superintendent for that purpose.

H. H. VAN DYCK,
m13-law6m.F. Superintendent.

OFFICE OF THE ROME, WATERTOWN AND OGDENSBURGH RAILROAD COMPANY, WATERTOWN, Aug. 15, 1863.

BOOKS OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE Increased Stock of this Company will be opened on the 20th inst., at the People's Bank, New-York, and will remain open for thirty days. Terms and conditions of subscription may be learned at the People's Bank, of the Hon. H. ALEXANDER, jr., Springfield, Massachusetts, and at this office.

Signed,
R. E. HUNGERFORD, Treasurer.

ATLANTIC AND GREAT WESTERN RAILROAD BONDS.—State of Ohio.—7 per cent. First Mortgage Bonds, coupons payable 1st April and 1st October; principal payable in 1876. A limited number of these securities for sale by the undersigned. For further particulars apply to HOWLAND & ASPINWALL, No. 54 South-st.

"ATLANTIC AND GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY."—Coupons on the Bonds of this Company will be paid on presentation by McANDREW & WANN, No. 12 Pine-st.

DIVIDENDS.

DIVIDEND.

OFFICE OF THE PHENIX FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, BROOKLYN, Sept 8, 1863.

The Board of Directors have this day declared a Semi-annual Dividend of Five (5) Per Cent., payable on demand, at their branch office, No. 62 Wall-st., New-York.
PHILANDER SHAW, Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE GROCERS' FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, No. 48 WALL-STREET, NEW-YORK, Sept. 1, 1863.

TWENTY-SIXTH DIVIDEND.—The Board of Directors have this day declared a Semi-annual Dividend of Five (5) per Cent. on the capital stock of the Company, payable to the stockholders on demand.

JAMES G. PLATT, Secretary.

LOST AND FOUND.

LOST—ON FRIDAY, SEPT. 4TH, 1863, WHILE IN charge of Studley's Express, a large sole leather TRUNK, covered with canvas, marked E. W. K., No. 83 Reade-st., N. Y. Any information concerning it will be thankfully received at No. 90 Hamilton-st., Brooklyn.

E. B. THAYER.

AUCTION SALES.

J. H. DRAPER, Auctioneer.

BY SIMEON DRAPER,
OFFICE, NO. 38 PINE-ST.
On TUESDAY, Sept. 15, 1863,
AT 12½ O'CLOCK,
AT THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE,
Nos. 25 and 28 Exchange-place:

EXECUTOR'S SALE OF VALUABLE STOCKS.

By order of WILLIAM E. DODGE, Esq., executor of the estate of ANSON G. PHELPS, the following valuable stocks, viz:

2,407 shares Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, $50 each.

597 shares Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad Company, (leased to the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company.) $30 each.

182 shares Warren Railroad Company, (leased to the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company,) $50 each.

72 shares Great Western Railroad Company of Illinois, $100 each.

10 shares Bank of the State of New York, $100 each.

155 shares Farmers' Loan and Trust Co., $20 each.

20 shares Lackawanna and Bloomsburgh Railroad, preferred stock, $50 each.

Together with sundry bonds, &c., &c., particulars of which will be in the catalogue of the sale.

Also,

500 shares Manhattan Gas Light Co. Stock..... $ 50 each.
480 shares Manhattan Gas Light Co. Scrip..... 50 each.
400 shares Metropolitan Gas Light Co. Stock..... 100 each.
80 shares Pennsylvania Coal Company Stock..... 50 each.
162 shares New-Jersey Zinc Company Stock..... 100 each.
161 shares 2d-av. Railroad Company Stock..... 100 each.
2 bonds, $1,000 each, 2d-av. Railroad Company Stock.
60 shares Knickerbocker Fire Ins. Company, $40 each.
130 shares Acces ory Transit Co. of Nicaragua, $100 each.

E. H. LUDLOW, Auctioneer.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE AT AUCTION.

E. H. LUDLOW & CO
will sell at public auction,
ON FRIDAY, SEPT. 11,
At 11 o'clock A. M., at No. 3 Pine-st., near Broadway,

A quantity of household furniture consisting in part of carved rosewood parlor suite, embroidered covering, very rich; brocatel curtains; set of oak dining chairs, in striped reps; oak buffet, marble top; fine walnut hall table, double wardrobe, suite of cottage furniture, mahogany and other bedsteads, marble-top dressing bureaus, washstands, palliasses, hair mattresses, bolsters and pillows, Brussels and ingrain carpets, oil-cloths, glassware, &c. Also two Scagliola pedestals, one set of silver-mounted double-coupe harness.

E. H. LUDLOW, Auctioneer.

VALUABLE PROPERTY AT NEW-ROCHELLE, AT AUCTION.

E. H. LUDLOW & CO. at 12 o'clock, at the Merchants' Exchange sale room, No. 103 Liberty-st.:

NEW-ROCHELLE—About four and a half acres of land, situated on Main-st., Franklin-av, and Cedar-road, well located in the midst of new improvements, and within five minutes' walk of the railroad depot and Long Island Sound; will be sold in four or more parcels, as may be desired by the purchaser. Sale positive; title indisputable. Seventy per cent. can remain on bond and mortgage. Maps, &c., at No. 3 Pine-st.

DANIEL H. BURDETT, Auctioneer.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S SALE.

BY BURDETT, JONES & CO.

By virtue of a writ of venditioni exponas to me directed and delivered, I will sell at public auction, on the 17th day of September, 1863, at 11 o'clock A. M., at the Union Stores, Brooklyn, the cargo of the prize-ship CHESHIRE, consisting of

GROCERIES,
HARDWARE,
DRY GOODS,
DRUGS AND MEDICINES,
SADDLERY,
BOOTS AND SHOES,
LEATHER, SKINS, &c.,
&c. &c.

ROBERT MURRAY, U. S. Marshal.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S SALE.

By virtue of a writ of venditioni exponas to me directed and delivered, I will sell at public auction, on the 16th day of September, 1863, at 11 o'clock A. M., at WHEELER'S STORES, ATLANTIC DOCK, BROOKLYN,

the cargo of the
PRIZE STEAMER "MEMPHIS,"
consisting of about
300 Bales of Sea Island Cotton.
1198 Bales of Upland Cotton.
500 Barrels Rosin.
2 Tierces Cotton Seeds.
1 Coil Wire Rigging.

R. MURRAY, U. S. Marshal.

DANL. H. BURDETT, Auctioneer.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S SALE.

BY BURDETT, JONES & CO.

By virtue of a writ of venditioni exponas to me directed and delivered, I will sell, at public auction, on the 17th day of September, 1863, at 11 o'clock, A. M., at the Union stores, Brooklyn, the cargo of the prize schooner MARIA BISHOP, consisting of 17 bales of COTTON.

SEPT. 7, 1863. ROBT. MURRAY, U. S. Marshal.

HENRY H. LEEDS & CO., Auctioneers.

HENRY H. LEEDS & CO. WILL SELL at auction, on SATURDAY, Sept. 12, at 10½ o'clock, at our salesroom, No. 23 Nassau-st., household furniture, consisting of brussels and ingrain carpets, carved black walnut suite, in reps; mahogany rockers and chairs, in hair cloth; mahogany marble-top centre-table, carved oak bedsteads, hair mattresses, spring bed, bolsters and pillows, black walnut and maple cane-seat chairs, maple rockers, mahogany and gilt frame mirrors, lace window curtains, mahogany and black walnut bedsteads, mahogany sofas and bureaus, hat-stands, &c. Also, silver-plated ware, kitchen furniture, &c., &c.

HENRY H. LEEDS, & CO., Auctioneers.

HENRY H. LEEDS & CO. WILL SELL at auction, on SATURDAY, Sept. 12, at 1 o'clock, in front of our store, No. 23 Nassau-st., sorrell mare, nearly full-blood, 9 years old, 15¾ hands high; kind and gentle in either saddle or single; a capital roadster; believed to be perfectly sound. Also, a four-seat coupé rockaway, in good order.

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, CORNER GANSEVOORT AND 22D-STS., WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 4, 1863.

NOTICE.—WILL BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION, at the Quartermaster's Warehouse, on the square between E and F and 21st and 22d sts., on WEDNESDAY, the 23d inst., a large lot of Quartermaster's stores condemned as unfit for public service, consisting in part of Scrap iron and Leather, Saddles, Bridles, parts of Harness and Wagons, Tents, Tools and Implements. Terms cash in Government funds.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock A. M.

C. H. TOMPKINS,
Captain and Asst. Quartermaster U. S. Army.

BOARDING AND LODGING.

BOARDING.—WANTED, A SECOND FLOOR BY a family of four grown persons; location must be below 14th-st., or in its vicinity. Address W. H. R., Box No. 2 General Post-office, stating terms. References required.

BOARDING.—A GENTLEMAN AND HIS WIFE can be accommodated with board and pleasant rooms on second floor; also, a new single gentlemen, in a private family, by applying at No. 247 West 20th-st.

BOARDING.—VERY PL

MEDICAL.

TRIESEMAR.

TRIESEMAR, Nos. 1, 2 and 3—Protected by Royal letters Patent of England, and secured by the seals of the "Ecole de Pharmacie de Paris," and the Imperial College of Medicine, Vienna.

TRIESEMAR No. 1 invigorates the exhausted; all physical impediments vanish like magic before its influence, even in the decline of life its rallying powers are astonishing.

TRIESEMAR No. 2 has superior properties in those cases where copaiva or cubebs is usually administered.

TRIESEMAR No. 3 entirely eradicates all impurities; its most excellent in secondary symptoms, thus corroborating the necessity of mercury or any other deleterious ingredient. These admirable remedies are in the agreeable form of a lozenge. In tin cases at $3; four cases in one at $9, or four nine-dollar cases for $27, thereby saving $9. To be had of Dr. BARROW, No. 194 Bleecker-st., four doors from Macdougal, New-York. Immediately on receipt of amount, forwarded to any part of the world, securely packed and directed, according to the instructions of the writer.

Advice and medical aid as usual at the above medical establishment.

By special appointment, Triesemar is also sold by Wells & Co., No. 115 Nassau-st., New-York, and by Worthington, No. 206 Fulton-st., Brooklyn.

PRIVATE DISEASES CURED IN THE shortest possible time, by Dr. WARD & CO., No. 50 Lispenard-st., near Broadway, without the use of Mercury, loss of time or change of diet. Dr. WARD, from the hospitals of London, Paris and Edinburgh, is the discoverer of the only certain and reliable remedies for diseases of a private character. In 25 years' practice he has cured more cases of Secret Diseases and Wrong Treatment than all others combined. I can and will cure you in less time and expense than any one can or will, and those who have been robbed of their money and health, call; it will take but little money and time to restore you. If you have been unfortunate, call at once. By his special experience in this much neglected branch of medical science, he is enabled to guarantee a cure in the most complicated cases. Recent cases of Gonorrhœa or Syphilis cured in a few days, without change of diet or hindrance from business. Secondary Syphilis—the last vestige eradicated without the use of Mercury. Involuntary emissions stopped in a short time. Sufferers from impotency, or loss of sexual power, restored to full vigor in a few weeks. Permanently and speedily cured by a new treatment. Persons at a distance failing to receive prompt treatment elsewhere, may get a permanent cure effected by writing a full diagnosis of their case, addressed to Dr. WARD, No. 50 Lispenard-st., the only place. Call, send for a circular, or write.

SURE CURE—BY DR. POWERS, SUCCESSfully consulted with Dr. WARD, No. 50 Lispenard-st. Confided on the plan of the Hospital des Veneriens, Paris, where those afflicted with any form of private disease can receive prompt treatment, without risk or exposure, viz.: Syphilis, gonorrhœa, gleet, stricture, ulcers, tumors, cancers, secondary and constitutional syphilis, diseases of the kidneys, &c., &c. Thirty years of extensive practice, exclusively devoted to the treatment of those complaints enable us to effect cures in cases where others of less experience have failed. Dr. Powers' Essence of Life restores the vigor of youth in four weeks. This marvelous agent restores manhood to the most shattered constitution—physical disqualifications, impediments to marriage, thereby speedily cured. The men to consult, Drs. Ward and Powers, the champions and kings of venereal diseases, possessing the most certain, speedy and only effectual remedies in the world, guarantee a perfect cure, or no charge, in from one to three months. Established in 1849. N. B.—Those who have used their preventives are never without. Send for a circular. To Ladies.—Dr. Powers' Periodical Drops are a safe and certain remedy for monthly irregularities. The above remedies sent by mail. The afflicted should read their circular. Postage free, on receipt of a stamp. Cures warranted.

CONSUMPTION, COUGHS, COLDS, ASTHMA, Bronchitis, Neuralgia, Rheumatisms, Spasms, &c., are instantly relieved by that marvelous remedy known as CHLORODYNE, which was discovered by Dr. J. Collis Browne, M. R. C. S. L., (Ex-Army Medical Staff,) and the secret of its recipe confided only to J. T. DAVENPORT, Pharmaceutical Chemist, No. 33 Great Russell-st., Bloomsbury-square, who is the sole manufacturer. Medical testimony, furnished by the highest authorities in military, naval, and civil practice, and numerous gratifying statements from the public generally, establishes this property as invaluable. It relieves pain, soothes the system, inducing refreshing and soothing sleep, without producing or having any unpleasant effects to obtain, and may be taken at any time in a few drop doses. Observe the genuine has the words "Dr. J. Collis Browne's CHLORODYNE" engraved on the Government stamp. None other is pure. Price 2s 9d, 4s. 6d. a bottle. Agent New-York,

Mr. JAMES ASPINWALL, William-st.

THE GREAT ENGLISH REMEDY FOR GOUT AND RHEUMATISM.

All sufferers from the above complaints, either of recent or long standing, are advised to use Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills. They can be relied upon as the most safe and effectual remedy ever offered to the public, and have been universally used in Europe for many years with the greatest success.

Prepared by PROUT & HARSANT, No. 229 Strand, London, England; and sold by their Agents, WELLS & CO., Franklin-st., New-York.

Her Majesty's Commissioners have authorized the name and address of "Thomas Prout, No. 229 Strand, London," to be impressed upon the Government stamp affixed to each box of the genuine medicine.

MADAME RESTELL, FEMALE PHYSICIAN and Professor of Midwifery, who has successfully treated all diseases of Females for thirty years, can be consulted, as usual, at No. 162 Chambers-st., or by letter.

Her infallible medicines for either married or single ladies can be sent by mail. Price $5.

N. B.—Ladies who desire to avail themselves of Madame RESTELL'S valuable, certain and safe mode of removing obstructions, suppressions, &c., &c., from whatever cause, without the use of medicines or instruments, can do so at one interview. Ladies from a distance can return the same day.

MADAME RESTELL,
Female Physician and Accoucheur,
No 162 Chambers-st., New-York City.

Ladies who desire board, and the best medical attendance during confinement, can be accommodated.

DR. COBBETT, MEMBER OF THE N. Y. University, (Medical College,) and Royal College of Surgeons, London, has removed from No. 19 Duane-st. to his present very convenient suite of offices at No. 22 Centre-st., between Chambers and Reade sts., with a private entrance at No. 6 City Hall-place, where he can be consulted with the most honorable confidence on all diseases affecting the urinary organs: thirty years in his present specialty, (three of which have been at the Hospitals of this City,) enable him to guarantee a cure in every case undertaken, or make no charge. Stricture of the urethra, impotency, seminal weaknesses, &c., treated on the most scientific principles. N. B.—As a proof of Dr. C.'s qualifications, he would call special attention to his Diplomas, which can be seen in his office.

DR. COOPER, NO. 14 DUANE-ST., MAYBE confidently consulted on all diseases of a private nature. A practice of 30 years, devoted to the treatment and cure of Syphilitic, Mercurial and diseases of a delicate nature, enables Dr. C. to make speedy and permanent cures, no matter of how long standing the case may be. Strictures of the urethra and seminal weakness, victims of misplaced confidence, who have been misled by quack advertisements, can call on Dr. C. with the certainty of being radically cured. N. B.—Dr. C. is a qualified physician and surgeon, and a member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New-York. Office hours from 8 A. M. to 9 P. M.

IMPORTANT TO THE MARRIED AND THOSE ABOUT TO BE MARRIED.—Dr. A. M. MAURICEAU, Professor of Diseases of Women, has just published the 160th edition of the valuable book, entitled "THE MARRIED WOMAN'S PRIVATE MEDICAL COMPANION," strictly intended for those whose health or circumstances forbid a too rapid increase of family. Price $1. Sold at his office, No. 129 Liberty-st., New-York, or can be sent by mail, free of postage, to any part of the United States and Canada, by inclosing $1, and addressing Box No. 1,224 New-York City. For sale by RICHARDSON, at No. 9 Vesey-st., (Astor House,) and No. 18 Ann-st.; FEDERHEN & CO., 13 Court-st., Boston.

MRS. MAXWELL, M. D., NO. 6 GREENE-STREET, New-York, takes pleasure in offering her services to the ladies who are suffering from irregularities, Suppression, &c., from whatever cause produced. In order to extend her sphere of usefulness, she has taken a large house, regardless of expense, and fitted it up as a Lying-in Hospital. There the most perfect secrecy is observed, and all the comforts of home in a sick-room may be found. Also, Female Monthly Pills. Price, $1. And where the children can always be adopted.

DR. WARD'S MAGICAL INVIGORATORS, IN the form of Pills. will, in fifteen minutes after being taken, make the recipient as vigorous as if nature had never been retarded or debilitated. To the unmarried or single, in every physical exigency, this marvelous medicine is earnestly recommended as a complete restorative of the nervous system where manhood has been impaired. Procured of Dr. WARD, No. 50 Lispenard-st., between Broadway and Church-sts. Call or send for circulars.

SOMETHING FOR EVERY LADY.—DR. WARD'S Great Female Benefactor or Golden Regulating Pills. Infallible in correcting, regulating and removing all obstructions, from whatever cause, and they will never disappoint the anxious patient. Office No. 50 Lispenard-st., near Broadway, where Dr. WARD can be consulted, confidentially, day and evening.

DR. POWERS' PERIODICAL DROPS are designed for both married and single ladies, and are the very best thing known for the purpose, as they will bring on the monthly sickness in cases of obstruction from any cause, and after all other remedies of the kind have been tried in vain. Expressly for obstinate cases. Warranted as represented in every respect, or the price will be refunded. ☞ Beware of imitations! Purchase directly of Dr POWERS, 50 Lispenard-st., New-York.

DR. HUNTER'S RED DROP RESTORES the vigor of youth in four days. Restores manhood to the most shattered system. No. 3 Division-st., New-York, the only place. Beware of bogus Dr. Hunters. The City is full of knaves, up to every trick to rob him of his great reputation as a skillful and reliable physician. No other office but No. 3 Division-st. Established in 1834. Eight separate rooms and a private entrance.

ADVICE TO LADIES.—IN ALL CASES where infallible medicines are desired, or mode of treatment that never fails, call upon Dr. A. M. MAURICEAU, Professor of Diseases of Women, author of "The Married Woman's Private Medical Companion," who treats female complaints exclusively. Office 129 Liberty-st.

IMPORTANT TO FEMALES.—DISEASES OF females scientifically treated by Dr. THIERS, No. 1,217 Broadway, (near 29th-st.,) New-York. Send a red stamp for ladies' circular and escape quackery. Board provided.

PRIVATE CONSULTATION.—DR. HUNTER has for thirty years confined his attention to diseases of a certain class, in which he has treated no less than fifty thousand cases without an instance of failure. His great remedy, HUNTER'S RED DROP, cures certain diseases when regular treatment and all other remedies fail; cures without dieting or restriction in the habits of the patient; cures without the disgusting and sickening effects of all other remedies; cures in new cases in less than six hours; cures without the dreadful consequent effects of mercury, but possesses the peculiarly valuable property of annihilating the rank and poisonous taint that the blood is sure to absorb unless his remedy is used. That is what he claims for it, and what no other will accomplish. Its value in this respect has become so well known, that scientific men in every department of medical knowledge begin to appreciate it, for hardly a week passes that he is not consulted by druggists, chemists and physicians in regard to some pitiful patient who has exhausted the whole field of the faculty, and still the disease will appear. Its popularity is so great that there is not a quack doctor in the City that has not attacked it, and when they find their lies are not so easily swallowed, they then pretend that they can make it. It is $1 a vial, and cannot be obtained genuine any where but at the old office, No. 3 Division-st. Book for 25 three-cent stamps, 100 pages, 100 colored illustrations. The best work out.

PUBLIC NOTICES.

NEW-YORK COUNTY SUBSTITUTE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE.

The Committee hereby give notice that they have fixed their office at the Supreme Court Rooms, Nos. 71 and 73 Duane-street, up stairs, and that said office will be open daily at 9 o'clock, A. M., until the business for which the Committee was organized is disposed of.

The Committee also give notice that no application for the payment of Substitute or Relief money will be entertained until the District Board of Enrollment have examined and accepted the person drafted into the United States' service, under the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1863.

The certificate of acceptance by the District Board of Enrollment must be presented to this Committee.

The following Rules and Regulations have been adopted in relation to drafted persons in indigent circumstances who have families depending upon them for support:

I. The term "citizen," employed in the fourth and seventh sections of the Ordinance of the Board of Supervisors, embraces all residents of this City and County liable to draft and service under the Act of Congress.

II. The words, "having a family depending on him for support," which occur in the fourth section of the Ordinance aforesaid, and their equivalent as used in the seventh section of said Ordinance, are construed to mean and include the following cases, that is to say:

1. A man having a wife and child or children,
2. A man having a wife only,
3. A man having children, whose wife is dead,
4. A man having a parent or parents, or other near relatives, for whom he habitually provides,

Who are wholly dependent upon him for support.

III. Drafted persons in indigent circumstances, situated as above, who upon inspection by the Board of Enrollment are found liable to serve, and who shall elect to serve, and actually be mustered into the service of the United States, on applying to this Committee, and satisfying them in regard to the above points, will be furnished with a certificate as provided in the fourth section of the ordinance, which will entitle their families to the amount of relief therein expressed, not exceeding the sum of three hundred dollars, which will be paid by the Comptroller in such installments, and at such times, as will, in his judgment, best afford the assistance needed by such families.

IV. In case any such indigent drafted person, whose liability to serve has been determined by the action of the Board of Enrollment, has a family depending upon him for support, who are in such condition as to render it, in the opinion of the Substitute and Relief Committee, a case of peculiar hardship for him to leave them, and he shall be unable to procure a substitute within the time required, he may report the fact to said Committee, and that he has used his best endeavors to obtain a substitute, they will furnish him a certificate to be presented to the Comptroller, who will thereupon pay to the proper officer of the Government the sum necessary to obtain his exemption from the draft.

V. In all cases of applications for the payment of money to substitutes for the drafted persons hereinafter specified, the Committee will require the following particulars, that is to say:

POLICEMEN will furnish written or printed statements, to be subscribed and sworn to by them, setting forth:

1. Their residence, giving the Ward, and the name and number of the street or avenue.
2. Their age and whether married or single.
3. The fact of their having been drafted, and in what Congressional District, and whether they have been duly inspected by or under the direction of the Board of Enrollment, and found to be liable to perform military duty under the act of Congress entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the National forces," &c., passed March 3, 1863.
4. The date of his appointment as a member of the Metropolitan Police, and the place and Precinct within the City and County of New-York where the applicant is stationed and performs police duty, and the date when he was so stationed or detailed.

On fact of said statements must have affixed to it a certificate signed by the captain or other commanding officer of the Precinct to which the applicant belongs, to the effect that the facts therein set forth are true, and this certificate must be countersigned by the President of the Police Board.

FIREMEN and Exempt Firemen performing active duty will furnish written or printed statements, to be subscribed and sworn to by them, setting forth—

1. Their residences, giving the ward and the number and name of the street or avenue.
2. Their age, and whether married or single.
3. Their occupation.
4. The fact of their having been drafted, and in what Congressional District, and whether they have been duly inspected by or under the direction of the Board of Enrollment and found to be liable to perform military duty under the Act of Congress entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces and for other purposes," passed March 3, 1863.
5. The name of the engine, hook and ladder, or hose company of which they are members, or in which they perform duty, and the date when they were elected or such members, or became attached to such company, and whether or not they perform active duty in the Fire Department.

Each of said statements must have affixed to it a certificate signed by the Foreman and Secretary of the Company to which the applicant belongs, to the effect that the facts therein set forth are true, and this certificate must be countersigned by the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Board of Representatives of the Fire Department.

MILITIAMEN will furnish written or printed statements, to be subscribed and sworn to by them, setting forth—

1. Their residence, giving the ward, and the name and number of the street or avenue.
2. Their age, and whether married or single.
3. The fact of their having been drafted, and in what Congressional District, and whether they have been duly inspected by or under the direction of the Board of Enrollment, and found to be liable to perform military duty under, the act of Congress entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces," etc., passed March 3, 1863.
4. The name of the company and regiment, or other military organization within the City and County of New-York to which the applicant belongs, and the date when he became a member of such company and organization, and also his present rank.

Each of said statements must have affixed to it a certificate signed by the commandant of the company to which the applicant belongs, to the effect that the facts therein set forth are true, and this certificate must be countersigned by the Colonel or other commanding officer of the regiment or other organization.

VI. The moneys authorized by this ordinance to be paid for substitutes, as above, will be paid to such substitutes respectively, or their duly authorized attorneys, at the office of the Comptroller, or such other place or places as he may designate, immediately upon their furnishing him with satisfactory evidence of their acceptance and actual muster into the service.

☞ Blank forms of application for relief under the ordinance may be obtained either at the office of the Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, City Hall, or at the Committee Rooms, numbers seventy-one and seventy-three Duane-street.

GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor,
MATTHEW T. BRENNAN, Comptroller,
ELIJAH F. PURDY, Supervisor,
ORISON BLUNT, Supervisor,
WILLIAM M. TWEED, Supervisor,
WILLIAM R. STEWART, Supervisor,
Committee.

GEO. F. THOMPSON, } Clerks.
CORNELIUS CORSON, }
NEW-YORK, Sept. 2, 1863.

CITY INSPECTOR'S DEPARTMENT, Aug. 31, 1863.

SPECIAL NOTICE—TO THE PUBLIC.—THE undersigned having met with complete success in his efforts to supersede the necessity of ash-boxes and other vessels for the reception of ashes and household refuse matter, by the experiments made in the Eleventh, Fourteenth and Eighteenth Wards, and it having been demonstrated that by his plan the City can be freed from the appearance on our sidewalks of these unnecessary incumbrances, while escaping their pestiferous odors, takes this opportunity of calling the attention of the public to the particulars of the following notice now in course of distribution throughout the City, and of asking a general cooperation on the part of all citizens in enabling the undersigned to carry the same into effect. He further desires that every delinquency on the part of salmen or bell-ringers be at once reported to him at this Department with the number of the cart.

F. I. A. BOOLE, City Inspector.

CITY INSPECTOR'S DEPARTMENT,
NEW-YORK, Aug. 31, 1863.

NOTICE.—THE UNDERSIGNED, FINDING that great labor, time and expense is caused by collecting and removing ashes and garbage, after the same have been thrown or scattered upon the streets from the deposit or garbage boxes, and believing it to be the desire of every housekeeper and resident of this Ward to aid the undersigned in his efforts to keep the streets in a good and cleanly condition, presents for your observance the following

REGULATIONS:

Notice will be given of the approach of the ash and garbage carts by the ringing of a bell fifteen minutes in advance of the carts, and you are respectfully notified and requested not to place any ashes, garbage or refuse matter of any kind in front of your premises, or upon the sidewalk until said bell is rung.

Carts will pass through the streets of this Ward every day, (Sundays excepted,) to collect and remove all ashes, garbage, &c., from the streets.

Complaint of neglect to regularly collect and remove as above, should be made to the City Inspector, at his office, No. 19 Chatham-st. F. I. A. BOOLE, City Inspector.

THOS. N. CARR, Superintendent of Sanitary Inspection.

HEADQUARTERS NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, SEVENTH-AV., NORTHWEST CORNER OF WEST FORTY-SEVENTH-ST.—NEW-YORK, Aug. 31, 1863.

THE BOARD OF ENROLLMENT FOR the Ninth Congressional District of the State of New-York, will commence its sessions at headquarters above-named, on THURSDAY, the 3d day of September, 1863, at 9 o'clock A. M., for the purpose of hearing claims for exemption, and the transaction of its other business. The different blank certificates for exemption will be furnished on application, but the same must be carefully prepared and verified before presentation.

Those only need apply who have been notified to appear; and they only on the day mentioned in the notice.

All such will be attended to during that day, and in the order in which they shall have presented themselves.

All persons who have been drafted and who desire to present substitutes, may give notice in writing to the Board of Enrollment that on such a day they will present a substitute, giving his name, residence, age, and stating whether he is an alien or citizen.

Propositions for substitutes and the examination of persons so offering will be heard by the Board on the day above named, and on every day thereafter, during the hours of 9 A. M. and 5 P. M., up to the time when the drafted men shall have been ordered to report at the rendezvous. The business appropriate to each day will be finished on that day; and in all cases a preference will be given to those who present substitutes.

CHAS. E. JENKINS,
Captain and Provost-Marshal Ninth District, N. Y.

THE COMMITTEE ON POLICE OF THE Board of Aldermen will meet every WEDNESDAY, at 1 o'clock P. M., in Room No. 8, City Hall, for the purpose of investigating all papers referred to them. All persons interested are respectfully requested to appear before the Committee without further notice.

PETER MASTERSON,
GEO. A. JEREMIAH,
CHAS. H. HALL. } Committee on Police.

THE COMMITTEE ON LAMPS AND GAS of the Board of Councilmen will meet EVERY WEDNESDAY, at 1 o'clock P. M., until further notice, in Room No. 6 City Hall, for the purpose of investigating all papers referred to them. All persons interested are respectfully requested to appear before the Committee without further notice.

ALEX. BRANDON,
JAMES MURRAY,
RICHARD O'BRIEN, } Committee on Lamps and Gas.

PUBLIC NOTICES.

CORPORATION NOTICE.—PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all houses and lots, improved or unimproved lands, affected thereby, that the following assessments have been completed and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz:

For flagging in One Hundred and Eighteenth-street, between First-avenue and Avenue A.

For setting curb and gutter in Fifty-seventh-street, between Third and Fourth avenues.

For fencing lots in Lexington-avenue, between Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh streets, and in Thirty-sixth-street, from Lexington to Third-avenue.

For fencing lots in Broadway, between Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth streets, and in Forty-fifth-street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues.

For fencing lots on the south side of Fifty-third-street, between Second and Third avenues.

For fencing lot number one hundred and forty-two East Thirty-eighth-street.

The limits embraced by such assessment include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land, situated on the south side of One Hundred and Eighteenth-street, embraced between the corner of First-avenue and a point two hundred and forty-four feet east therefrom. All the lots on the north side of Fifty-seventh-street, between the Fourth and Lexington avenues, and including the lots on Fifty-seventh-street, east of Lexington, to the distance of two hundred feet from the corner of Lexington-avenue. All the lots and gores at the northeast corner of Thirty-sixth-street and Lexington-avenue, extending forty-two feet two inches northerly on the avenue from the corner of Thirty-sixth-street, and along Thirty-sixth-street to the distance of two hundred and eighty-four feet eleven inches from the corner of the avenue. All the lots between Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh streets on the west side of Broadway, and on both sides of Forty-fifth-street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues. Also, lot known as Ward number forty-five and one-half in block number two hundred and fifty-six of the Nineteenth Ward, and lot known as number one hundred and forty-two in East Thirty-eighth-street, the latter supposed to belong to Peter Luis.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present their objections, in writing, to one of the undersigned, at their office, number thirty-two Chambers-street, basement New-Court-house, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

CHAS. McNEILL,
JACOB F. OAKLEY,
WM. A. DOOLEY, } Assessors.

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS,
NEW-COURT-HOUSE, Sept. 7, 1863.

CORPORATION NOTICE.—PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all houses and lots, improved or unimproved lands, affected thereby, that the following assessments have been completed, and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz:

For flagging in One Hundred and Eighteenth-street, between First-avenue and Avenue A.

For setting curb and gutter in Fifty-seventh-street, between Third and Fourth avenues.

For fencing lots in Lexington-avenue, between Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh streets, and in Thirty-sixth-street, from Lexington to Third-avenue.

For fencing lots in Broadway, between Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth streets, and in Forty-fifth-street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues.

For fencing lots on the south side of Fifty-third-street, between Second and Third avenues.

For fencing lot number one hundred and forty-two East Thirty-eighth-street.

The limits embraced by such assessment include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land, situated on the south side of One Hundred and Eighteenth-street, embraced between the corner of First-avenue and a point two hundred and forty-four feet east therefrom. All the lots on the north side of Fifty-seventh-street, between the Fourth and Lexington avenues, and including the lots on Fifty-seventh-street, east of Lexington, to the distance of two hundred feet from the corner of Lexington-avenue. All the lots and gores at the northeast corner of Thirty-sixth-street and Lexington-avenue, extending forty-two feet two inches northerly on the avenue from the corner of Thirty-sixth-street, and along Thirty-sixth-street to the distance of two hundred and eighty-four feet eleven inches from the corner of the avenue. All the lots between Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh streets on the west side of Broadway, and on both sides of Forty-fifth-street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues. Also, lot known as Ward number forty-five and one-half in block number two hundred and fifty-six of the Nineteenth Ward, and lot known as number one hundred and forty-two in East Thirty-eighth-street, the latter supposed to belong to Peter Luis.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present their objections, in writing, to one of the undersigned, at their office, No. 32 Chambers-street, basement new Court-House, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

CHAS. McNEILL,
JACOB F. OAKLEY,
WM. A. DOOLEY, } Board of Assessors.

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS, NEW COURT-HOUSE, Sept. 3, 1863.

THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL AFFAIRS will meet every day, until further notice, in the Chamber of the Board of Aldermen, at 1 o'clock P. M. Parties having business with the Committee are respectfully invited to attend.

Alderman TERENCE FARLEY,
Alderman PETER MITCHELL,
Alderman JOHN T. HENRY,
Alderman F. I. A. BOOLE,
Alderman JOHN D. OTTIWELL,
Councilman WM. JOYCE,
Councilman SAMUEL WEBSTER,
Councilman JOHN McCONNELL,
Councilman ALEX. BRANDON,
Councilman JOHN G. HAVILAND.

THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH of the Board of Aldermen will meet in Room number twelve, City Hall, on TUESDAY of each week, at two o'clock P. M., until further notice. All persons interested are requested to attend.

TERENCE FARLEY,
JACOB M. LONG,
PETER MASTERSON,
Committee.

THE COMMITTEE ON ROADS OF THE Board of Aldermen will meet every FRIDAY, at two o'clock P. M., in Room number twelve, City Hall. All persons interested in matters pending the action of the Committee, are invited to attend.

THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDings, of the Board of Aldermen, will meet every TUESDAY, in Room No. 8 City Hall, at 1 o'clock P. M., for the purpose of considering all papers referred to such Committee. All parties interested will please attend without further notice.

PETER MASTERSON,
JOHN FOX,
LEWIS R. RYERS, } Committee on Public Buildings.

THE COMMITTEE ON SEWERS OF THE Board of Aldermen will meet every WEDNESDAY, at two o'clock P. M., in Room number eight, City Hall. Parties interested in any matter before the Committe will have an opportunity of being heard.

GEORGE A. JEREMIAH,
TERENCE FARLEY,
CHARLES H. HALL,
Committee on Sewers.

THE COMMITTEE ON FIRE DEPARTMENT of the Board of Aldermen, will meet every SATURDAY, at two o'clock, in the City Library Room, City Hall.

JOHN McCOOL,
PETER MITCHELL,
LEWIS R. RYERS,
Committee on Fire Department.

RAILROADS.

NEW-YORK & FLUSHING RAILROAD.—Leave New-York, at James-slip Ferry and 34th-st. Ferry, at 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7¼.

Leave Flushing at 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 1, 3½, 5, 6 and 7½.

N. B.—On TUESDAYS and FRIDAYS, a special night train leaves Flushing at 11 P. M., and from 34th-st. Ferry at 12 P. M.

NEW-YORK, HARLEM AND ALBANY RAILROAD—Trains will leave 26th-st. depot—For Albany—10:30 A. M., stopping at Williamsbridge, White Plains, Bedford, Croton Falls and stations north to Albany, connecting with the Central and Northern Railroad for Saratoga and all points north and west. For Croton Falls, 8:30 A. M. and 5 P. M. (The 5 P. M. train leaves Williamsbridge at 5:50 P. M., stopping at Bedford, White Plains and Williamsbridge.) For White Plains, 8:15, 10 A. M., 2:30, 4:10, 5 P. M., and 6:16 P. M. From Williamsbridge, 8:15, 10 A. M., 2:30, 4:10, 5, 6:15 and 8:30 P. M. Croton Falls, White Plains and Williamsbridge train stop at all stations. For Dover Plains, 4 P. M., stopping at White Plains and stations north to Dover. Returning, leave Albany at 9:10 A. M., on arrival of Northern and Western trains, stopping at all stations from Chatham to Croton Falls, also at Bedford, White Plains and Williamsbridge. Dover Plains, 8:45 A. M., stopping at all stations north of and at White Plains; Croton Falls, 8 A. M., White Plains, 6:10, 7, 8:20 A. M., 12:30, 4:15 P. M., Williamsbridge, 5:30 A. M. and 7:05 P. M. Croton Falls, White Plains and Williamsbridge trains stop at all stations. Sunday Excursion Trains at half-fare. For Croton Falls, 8:15 A. M., stopping at all stations except Yorkville; for Williamsbridge, 9:15, 11:30 A. M., 2, 4:30 and 8 P. M. For White Plains, 9 A. M. Williamsbridge and White Plains trains stop at all stations. Returning, leave White Plains, 6:10 A. M.; Williamsbridge, 6:40, 10:25 A. M., 12:40, 3:10, 5:40 and 7 P. M., stopping at all stations; Croton Falls, 5:00 P. M., stopping at all stations; and at Williamsbridge.

JOHN BURCHILL, Superintendent.

HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD.—FOR ALBANY, TROY, THE NORTH AND WEST. Trains leave:

FROM CHAMBERS-ST.	FROM THIRTIETH-ST.
Express, 7 and 10 A. M., and 3:15 and 5 P. M.	7:22, 10:27 A. M., and 5:22 P. M.
Troy and Albany, (with Sleeping car,) 10:30 P. M.	10:37 P. M.

On SUNDAYS, at 5:22 P. M., from 30th-st.

Tickets may be procured at any of the offices of Westcott's Express, in New-York and Brooklyn, and baggage checked at the house to all points on the road, and to Saratoga Springs.

LONG ISLAND RAILROAD.—INCREASED accommodation.—Leave James-slip and foot of 34th-st., East River, at 6 A. M. for Greenport, stopping at all stations; and 3:30 P. M. for Jamaica, Mineola, Jerusalem and all stations east to Greenport. For Islip, 8 A. M., 3:30 and 5:30 P. M. For Syosset, 8 and 11 A. M., 4:30 and 5:30 P. M. For Jamaica and Hempstead, 8 and 11 A. M., 4:30 and 5:30 P. M. Sunday Excursion Train, at 9:15 A. M., from 34th-st., (stopping at all the stations) to Yaphank, at excursion rates. Returning, leaves Yaphank at 2:45 P. M. Jamaica Accommodation Train from New-York, at 6:30 P. M.

ERIE RAILWAY.—PASSENGER TRAINS:
7 A. M.—Express for Buffalo.
8:30 A. M.—Mail, daily, for Otisville.
10 A. M.—Mail, for Buffalo.
4 P. M.—Way, for Otisville, Newburgh and Warwick.
5 P. M.—Night Express, daily, for Dunkirk, Buffalo, Rochester, Canandaigua and principal stations. The train of Saturday runs through to Buffalo, but does not run to Dunkirk.
7 P. M.—Emigrant.

CHAS. MINOT, General Superintendent.

RARITAN AND DELAWARE BAY RAILROAD.—On and after Thursday, Sept. 10, the trips leaving New-York at 10:40 A. M., and Long Branch at 11:10 A. M., will be discontinued. On and after Monday, Sept. 14, the J. D. BEERS will leave foot of Murray-st., at 6:45 A. M., connecting with trains for all stations, and at 3 P. M. for Manchester, Toms River and intermediate stations.

B. S. SEYMOUR, Superintendent.

NORTHERN R. R. OF N. JERSEY.—TRAINS leave Jersey City, Piermont at 6:00 A. M., 9:15 A. M., 1:15 P. M., 4:30 P. M. and 6:30 P. M. Saturdays only, 11:15 P. M.; for Nyack, 7:15 A. M. and 4:30 P. M.

THOS. W. DEMAREST, Supt.

SHIPPING

GALWAY LINE.
THE
ATLANTIC IRISH ROYAL MAIL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

ADRIATIC, 1,200 Horse-power, 4,000 Tons.
HIBERNIA, 1,000 Horse-power, 3,000 Tons.
COLUMBIA, 1,000 Horse-power, 3,000 Tons.
ANGLIA, 1,000 Horse-power, 3,000 Tons.

The magnificent Steamship
ADRIATIC,
Capt. NICHOLSON,
will sail from DEW-YORK, for GALWAY and LIVERPOOL, on TUESDAY, Sept. 22, to be followed by the ANGLIA, from Boston, Oct. 6.

Rates of passage, payable in gold or its equivalent in currency:

First Cabin	$80
Intermediate	40
Steerage	30

Passengers forwarded also to London, Paris, Hamburg, Havre, Bremen, Rotterdam, Antwerp, &c., at lowest rates.

Fares from Liverpool or Galway to New-York and Boston, $25, $35, $85, $105.

For passage, apply to

SABEL & SEARLE,
No. 23 Broadway.

For freight, and other information, apply to
LAWRENCE, GILES & CO.,
No. 11 South William-st.

THE BRITISH AND NORTH-AMERICAN ROYAL MAIL STEAMSHIPS.

BETWEEN NEW-YORK AND LIVERPOOL, CALLING AT CORK HARBOR AND BETWEEN BOSTON AND LIVERPOOL, CALLING AT HALIFAX AND CORK HARBOR.

PERSIA, LOTT, leaves New-York Wednesday, Sept. 9.
AFRICA, STONE, leaves Boston Wednesday, Sept. 16.
SCOTIA, JUDKINS, leaves New-York Wed'sy, Sept. 23.
ARABIA, MOODIE, leaves Boston, Wednesday, Sept. 30.
CHINA, ANDERSON, leaves New-York Wednesday, Oct. 7.
EUROPA, SHANNON, leaves Boston, Wednesday, Oct. 14.
PERSIA, LOTT, leaves New-York, Wednesday, Oct. 21.

FROM NEW-YORK TO LIVERPOOL.

Chief Cabin Passage	$132 50
Second Cabin Passage	80 00

FROM BOSTON TO LIVERPOOL.

Chief Cabin Passage	$112 50
Second Cabin Passage	65 00

Payable in gold, or its equivalent in United States currency.

Berths not secured until paid for.

An experienced surgeon on board.

The owners of these ships will not be accountable for specie or valuables unless bills of lading, having the value expressed, are signed therefor.

For freight or passage, apply to

E. CUNARD, No. 4 Bowling Green.

STEAM BETWEEN TO LIVERPOOL.—Touching at QUEENSTOWN, (CORK HARBOR.) The well-known steamers of the Liverpool New-York and Philadelphia Steamship Company are intended to sail as follows:

CITY OF BALTIMORE	Saturday	Sept. 12
CITY OF NEW-YORK	Saturday	Sept. 19
ETNA	Saturday	Sept. 26

and every succeeding Saturday, at Noon, from Pier No. 44 North River.

RATES OF PASSAGE.

Payable in gold, or its equivalent in currency.

First cabin	$80	Steerage	$32 50
First cabin to London	85	Steerage to London	35 50
First cabin to Hamburg	90	Steerage to Paris	40 50
		Steerage to Hamburg	37 50

Passengers also forwarded to Havre, Bremen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, &c., at equally low rates.

Fares from Liverpool or Queenstown: First Cabin, $75, $85, $105. Steerage $25. Those who wish to send for their friends can buy tickets here at these rates.

For further information apply at the Company's offices.

JOHN G. DALE, Agent,
No. 15 Broadway, New-York.

STEAM COMMUNICATION
TO LIVERPOOL.

The undersigned will dispatch one of the undermentioned or other first-class full powered British built steamers from

NEW-YORK TO LIVERPOOL,

calling at Queenstown to land passengers and latest TELEGRAPHIC DISPATCHES.

Ship.	Tons.		
LOUISIANA	2,156	Commander,	Tomill.
VIRGINIA	2,876	Brooking,	Friday, 14th August.
CAROLINA	2,978	Milborn,	Friday, 28th August.
		Pearce,	

These steamers have been all built under the inspection of the Chief Surveyor to the Liverpool Underwriters' Registry of Iron Ships, they have extra water-tight compartments, and classed first-class for 12 years.

They are fitted up for first, second and third-class passengers, which are charged at the following rates:

First Cabin	$90
	75 Payable in Currency.
Steerage	30

Dietary and accommodation unsurpassed by any other line of steamers.

For further particulars, apply to
WILLIAMS & GUION, No. 71 Wall-st.

THE MAGNIFICENT FIRST-CLASS, FULL POWER

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Continued from Third Page.

that, whatever might be the claims *de jure* of a deposed prince, he could not receive from any other sovereign "international privileges;" "that, if he could grant a commission to take the ships of a single nation, it would in effect be a general license to plunder, *because those who were so commissioned would be their own judges of whatever they took*; and that the reason of the thing which pronounced that robbers and pirates, when they formed themselves into a civil society, became just enemies, pronounced also that a king without territory, without power of protecting the innocent or punishing the guilty, *or in any way of administering justice*, dwindled into a pirate if he issued commissions to seize the goods and ships of nations, and *that they who took commissions from him must be held by legal inference to have associated 'sceleris causa' and could not be considered as members of civil society.*" (Phillimore, International Law, vol. i., 401.) These words are strictly applicable to the present case. Whatever may be the force of the Rebel Slavemongers on land, they are no better on the ocean than the "deposed prince"—"without power of protecting the innocent or punishing the guilty, *or in any way of administering justice*;" and, like the prince, they too have "dwindled into a pirate,"—except so far as they may be sustained by British Recognition.

And there is yet another precedent, which shows that the appropriation of a captured ship or cargo without judicial proceedings, is piracy. The case is memorable. It is none other than that of the famous Capt. Kidd, who, on his indictment for piracy, as long ago as 1698, produced a commission in justification. But it was at last declared that it was not enough to show a commission; *he must also show a condemnation of the captured ship.* The Lord Chief Baron of that day said that "if he had acted pursuant to his commission *he ought to have condemned ship and goods*; that by not condemning them he showed his aim, mind, and intention, and that he did not act in that case by virtue of his commission, but quite contrary to it; that he took the ship and shared the money and goods, and was taken in that very ship, *so that there is no color or pretence that he intended to bring this ship to England to be condemned or to have condemned it in any of the English plantations*; and that whilst men pursue their commissions they must be justified; but when they do things not authorized or even intended by them, *it was as if they had no commissions.*" (Hargrave's State Trials, vol. v. p. 314.) Capt. Kidd was condemned to death and executed as a pirate. If he was a pirate worthy of death, then by the same rule those rovers who burn ships, rob cargoes and adorn their cabins with rows of stolen chronometers—without any pretence of a prize court—must be pirates worthy of death likewise.

But without now considering more critically what should be the fate of these ocean incendiaries, or what the responsibilities of England, out of whom they came, I content myself with the conclusion that they are notentitled to ocean belligerency.

But even if rebel Slavemongers coagulated in embryo government, have arrived at that *semi*-sovereignty *de facto* on the ocean which justifies the concession of Belligerent Rights, yet the Christian Powers should indignantly decline to make the concession, because they cannot do so without complicity with a shameful crime. Here I avoid details. It is sufficient to say, that every argument of fact and reason—every whisper of conscience and humanity—every indignant outburst of an honest man against the Recognition of Slavemonger Independence is equally strong against any concession of Ocean Belligerency. Indeed such concession is the half-way house to Recognition, and it can be made only where a nation is ready, if the fact of Independence be sufficiently established, to acknowledge it—on the principle of Vattel that "whosoever has a right to the end has a right to the means." (Book iv., cap. v., § 60.) But it is equally clear, that where a nation, on grounds of conscience, must refuse the Recognition of Independence, it cannot concede Belligerency, for *where the end is forbidden, the means must be forbidden also.* But the illogical absurdity of any such concession by Great Britain, so persistent always against Slavery, and now for more than a generation the declared "protectress of the African race," becomes doubly apparent when it is considered that every rebel ship built in England, and invested with Ocean Belligerency, carries with it the law of Slavery, so that the ship becomes an *extension of Slave* Territory by British concession.

And yet it is said that such a monster is entitled to the concession of ocean rights, and the British Queen is made to proclaim them. So easy for England and then another wicked compromise was struck with Slavery, kindred in nature to that old Treaty, which mantles the cheeks of honest Englishmen as they read it, by which the Slave-trade was protected and its profits secured to British subjects! I know not the profits which have been secured by the destruction of American commerce; but I do know that the Treaty of Utrecht, crimson with the blood of slaves, is not so crimson as that reckless Proclamation, which gave to Slavery a frantic life, and helped for a time, may still helps the demon, in the rage with which it battles against Human Rights. Such a ship, with the Law of Slavery on its deck and with the flag of Slavery at its mast-head, sailing for Slavery, burning for Slavery, fighting for Slavery, and knowing no other sovereignty than the pretended Government of Rebel Slavemongers, can be nothing less, in spirit and character, than a *Slave-Pirate* and the enemy of the human race. Like produces like, and the parent Power, which is Slavery, must stamp itself upon the ship, making it a floating offence to Heaven, with no limit to its audacity—wild, outrageous, impious, a monster of the deep to be hunted down by all who have not forgotten their duty alike to God and man.

Meanwhile there is one simple act which the justice of England cannot continue to refuse. That fatal concession of Ocean Belligerency, made in a moment of eclipse, when reason and humanity were obscured, must be annulled. The *blunder-crime* must be renounced, so that the *Slave pirates* may no longer sail the sea, burning, destroying, robbing, with British license. Then will they promptly disappear forever, and with them will disappear the occasion of strife between two Great Powers, who ought to be, if not as mother and child, at least as brothers among the Nations. And may God in his mercy help this consummation!

And here I leave this part of the subject, founding my objections on two grounds:

(1.) The embryo government of Rebel Slavemongers has not that degree of sovereignty *on the ocean* which is essential to Belligerency there.

(2.) Even if it possessed the requisite sovereignty, no Christian Power can make any such concession to it without a shameful complicity with Slavery.

Both of these are objections of *fact*. Either is sufficient. But even if the Belligerency seems to be established as *a fact*, still its concession in this age of Christian light would seem to be impossible, unless under some temporary aberration, which, for the honor of England and the welfare of Humanity, it is to be hoped will speedily pass away.

OUR DUTIES.

Again, fellow-citizens, I crave forgiveness for this long trespass upon your patience. If the field that we have traversed has been ample, it has been brightened always by the light of International Justice, exposing clearly from beginning to end the sacred landmarks of duty. I have been frank, disguising nothing and keeping nothing back; so that you have been able to see the perils to which the Republic is exposed from the natural tendency of war to breed war, as exhibited in the examples of history, and also from the fatal proclivity of Foreign Powers to intermeddle, as exhibited in recent instances of querulous criticism or intrusive proposition, all adverse to the good cause, while pirate ships have been permitted to depredate on our commerce; then how the best historic instances testify in favor of Freedom, and how all Intervention of every kind, whether by proffer of mediation or otherwise, becomes intolerable when its influence tends to the establishment of that soulless anomaly, a professed Republic built on the hopeless and everlasting bondage of a race—and especially how Great Britain is sacredly engaged, by all the logic of her history and all her traditions, in unbroken lineage against any such unutterable baseness; then how all the Christian Powers, constituting the family of nations, are firmly bound to set their face against any recognition of the embryo Government of Rebel Slavemongers, on two grounds; *first*, because its independence is not in *fact* established; and *secondly*, because, even if *in fact* established, its recognition is impossible without criminal complicity with Slavery; and, lastly, how these same Christian Powers are firmly bound by the same two-fold reasons against any concession of ocean rights to this hideous pretender.

It only remains that the Republic should lift itself to the height of its great duties. War is hard to bear—with its waste, its pains, its wounds, its funerals. But in this war we have not been choosers. We have been challenged to the defence of our country, and in this sacred cause, to crush Slavery. There is no alternative. Slavery began the combat, staking its life and *determined to rule or die.* That we may continue freemen there must be no slaves; so that our own security is linked with the redemption of a race. Blessed lot, amidst the harshness of war, to wield the arms and deal the blows under which the monster will surely fall! The battle is mighty, for into Slavery has entered the Spirit of Evil. It is persistent, for such a gathered wickedness, concentrated, aroused and maddened, must have a tenacity of life, which will not yield at once. But might will not save it now; nor time either.

That the whole war is contained in Slavery may be seen, not only in the acts of the National Government, but also in the confessions of the Rebel Slavemongers. Already the President, by Proclamation, has announced that the slaves throughout the whole rebel region "are and henceforward shall be free," and, in order to give the fullest assurance of the irreversible character of this sublime edict, he has further announced "that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons." Already an enlightened Commission has been constituted to consider how these thronging freemen can be best employed for their own good and the national defence. And already the sons of Africa, as mustered soldiers of the Union, have put forth a discipline and a bravery, not unworthy of their fathers of old, when the prophet Jeremiah said, "Let the mighty men come forth, the Ethiop marches [margin: or shield,"] (Jeremiah, xlvi., v. 9,) and find favor, by their stature, by their appearance in the ranks and even by the unexpected testimony of sanitary statistics—according to which for every black soldier disabled by sickness there are *seven* [illegible] while, thus making the army

[illegible] breath of the blunt two times as sure as that of the white—by all these things, they have shown that the Father of History, who, in our earliest classical authority, was not entirely mistaken when he spoke of Ethiopia as "the most distant region of the earth, whose inhabitants are the tallest, most beautiful and most long-lived of the human race." (Herodotus III., 114.) But even if these acts of the National Government were less significant, all doubt is removed by the Rebel Slavemongers themselves, who in Satanic audacity, openly avow that Slavery is the end and aim of the Government which they seek to establish, so that every blow which is struck by them is struck for Slavery. Therefore, in battling against the Rebellion we battle against Slavery. Freedom is the growing inspiration of our armies and the just inscription of our banners. *By this sign conquer.* Such a war is not in any just sense a war of subjugation; but a war of Liberation—in order to save the Republic from a petty oligarchy of task-masters, and to rescue four millions of human beings from a cruel oppression. Not to subjugate but to liberate is the object of our Holy War. And yet British statesmen, forgetting for the moment all moral distinctions—forgetting God who will not be forgotten—gravely announce that our cause must fail! Alas! individual wickedness is too often successful; but a pretended Nation, suckled in wickedness and boasting its wickedness—a new Sodom, with all the guilt of the old, waiting to be blasted and yet, in its effrontery, openly seeking the fellowship of Christian Powers—is doomed to defeat. Toleration of such a pretension is practical Atheism. Chronology and geography are both offended by it. Piety stands aghast. In this age of light and in countries boasting civilization, there can be no place for its barbarous pleni-potentiaries. As well expect crocodiles crawling on the pavements of London and Paris, or the carnivorous idols of Africa installed for worship in Westminster Abbey and Notre Dame.

Even if the Republic were less strong, yet I am glad to believe that the Rebellion must fail, from the essential impossibility of any such wicked success. The responsibilities of the Christian Powers would be increased by our weakness. Behind our blockade there would be a *moral blockade*; behind our armies there would be the aroused judgment of the civilized world. But not on this account can we hesitate. This is no time to stop. *Forward*; *Forward*. Thus do I, who formerly pleaded so often for peace, now sound to arms. But it is because, in this terrible moment, there is no other way to that sincere and solid peace without which there will be endless war. Even on economic grounds, it were better that this war should proceed, rather than recognize any partition, which, beginning with humiliation, must involve the perpetuation of armaments and break out again in blood. But there is something worse than waste of money; it is waste of character. Give me any peace but a *Liberticide* peace. In other days the immense eloquence of Burke was stirred against a *Regicide* peace. But a peace founded on the killing of a King is not so bad as a peace founded on the killing of Liberty; nor can the saddest scenes of such a peace be so sad as the daily life which is legalized by Slavery. A Queen on the scaffold is not so pitiful a sight as a woman on the auction-block. Therefore, I say again, *Forward! Forward!*

But while thus steady in our purpose at home, we must not neglect that proper moderation abroad, which becomes the consciousness of our strength and the nobleness of our cause. The mistaken sympathy which Foreign Powers now bestow upon Slavery,—or it may be the mistaken insensibility—under the plausible name of "neutrality," which they profess—will be worse for them than for us. For them it will be a record of shame which their children would gladly blot out with tears. For us it will be only another obstacle vanquished in the battle for Civilization, where unhappily false friends are mingled with open enemies. Even if the cause shall seem for a while imperilled from Foreign Powers, yet our duties are none the less urgent. If the pressure be great, the resistance must be greater: nor can there be any retreat. Come weal or woe this is the place for us to stand.

I know not if a Republic like ours can count even now upon the certain friendship of any European Power, unless it be the Republic of William Tell. The very name is unwelcome to the full-blown representatives of old Europe, who forget how proudly, even in modern history, Venice bore the title of *Serenissima Respublica.* It will be for us to change all this, and we shall do it. Our successful example will be enough. Thus far we have been known, chiefly by that vital force which Slavery could only degrade but not subdue. Now at last, by the death of Slavery, will the Republic begin to live. For what is life without Liberty? Stretching from ocean to ocean—teeming with population—bountiful in resources of all kinds—and thrice happy in universal enfranchisement—it will be more than conqueror. Nothing too vast for its power; nothing too minute for its care. Triumphant over the foulest wrong ever inflicted—after the bloodiest war ever waged—it will know the majesty of Right and the beauty of Peace—prepared always to uphold the one and to cultivate the other. Strong in its own mighty stature—filled with all the fullness of a new life, and covered with a panoply of renown, it will confess that no dominion is of value which does not contribute to human happiness. Born in this latter day, and the child of its own struggles, without ancestral claims, but heir of all the ages—it will stand forth to assert the dignity of man, and wherever any member of the Human Family is to be succored, there its voice will reach—as the voice of Cromwell reached across France, even to the persecuted mountaineers of the Alps. Such will be this Republic; upstart among the nations. Aye as the steam-engine, the telegraph, and chloroform are upstart. Comforter and Helper like these, it can know no bounds to its empire over a willing world. But the first stage is the death of Slavery.

Passengers Arrived.

In Italian bark Emma, from Dunkirk.—Capt. Webster, wife and family, and the first and second officers of the ship Constitution, captured by the privateer Georgia.

In brig Excelsior, from Bermuda.—Richard J. P. Darrell, Mrs. Sherman, J. Patton, Capt. Luard, R. E. H. Hoffmang, W. H. Jones, T. Brown, J. de Jough, Wm E. Whitter.

MINIATURE ALMANAC—THIS DAY.

Sun rises..... 5 36 | Sun sets ..... 6 16 | Moon rises . 4 06

HIGH WATER—THIS DAY.

Sandy Hook . 6 28 | Gov. Island. 7 17 | Hell Gate . 8 39

MARINE INTELLIGENCE.

NEW-YORK....THURSDAY, Sept. 10.

Arrived.

U. S. steam transport Daniel Webster, Phillips, Fortress Monroe 24 hours, to U. S. Assistant Quartermaster, 5th inst., at 10½ A. M., inside of Cape Henry, was boarded by a boat belonging to frigate Minnesota, from the blockading fleet off Wilmington, N. C. She reported being on shore with her boats, and had a fight with some rebels, killing 12 and capturing 2 guns, which they brought with them. The M. in bound up to Fortress Monroe. At 2 P. M., off Hog Island, exchanged signals with steamships Baltic and Atlantic bound S.

Steamship Patapsco, Mott, Havana 3d inst., with mdse. and passengers to J. R. Bacon. Is detained in the Lower Quarantine.

Steamer Ann Eliza, Robinson, Philadelphia, with mdse. to James Hand.

Steamer Mayflower, Crawford, Philadelphia, with mdse. to James Hand.

Steamer New-York, Fults, Philadelphia, with mdse. to James Hand.

Steamer W. C. Pierrepont, Green, Philadelphia, with mdse. to J. & N. Briggs.

Steamer Anthracite, Jones, Philadelphia, with mdse. to Loper & Kirkpatrick.

Steamer Kingfisher, Nye, Providence, with mdse. to E. Bynner.

Steamer Eliza, German, Philadelphia, with mdse. to J. & N. Briggs.

Ship Neptune, Peabody, Liverpool Aug. 9, with mdse. and 276 passengers to Charles H. Marshall & Co. 8th inst., off Nantucket Shoals, passed Prussian ship Data, bound E. 9th inst., 6 P. M., passed steamship Great Eastern, hence for Liverpool.

Ship Hound, (of Mystic,) Nash, Foo-Chow April 21, with teas, etc., to H. Mallory. Passed through Sunda Straits June 17, Cape of Good Hope July 19, crossed the equator Aug. 15. Had much head winds and calms in the China Sea, and much bad weather about the Cape of Good Hope.

Ship Germania, Townsend, Havre Aug. 1, with mdse. and 143 passengers to Wm. Whitlock, Jr.

Bark Winona, (of Gibralter,) Ficketts, Marseilles July 19, and Gibralter Aug. 5, with mdse. to Peck & Church. In lat. 40 40, lon. 45 51, signalized ship John Bertram, of Hamberg, Johnsen, hence for Hamburg. Aug. 28, lat. 48 (2, lon. 49, boarded the ship Benjamin R. Milan, waterlogged and abandoned. She had been boarded by a bark bound E. 3 hours previous.

Bark Marie, Halberg, Leghorn 58 ds., with marble and rags and 8 passengers to John E. Devlin.

Bark W. E. Anderson, (of Bucksport,) Fickerson, Cardiff 60 ds., with coal to J. E. Ward & Co.

Bark P. E. Caillon, (Fr.,) Papenino, Marseilles 60 ds., with mdse. to E. Cayius de Ruyter & Co.

Bark Verbano, (Ital.,) Asalde, Genoa 55 ds., in ballast to order.

U. S. bark Guerilla, Bearse, Hilton Head, S. C., 14 ds., in ballast to U. S. Assistant Quartermaster.

Bark Sallie Bonsal, Leavitt, Sydney, C. B., 10 ds., with coal to Brett, Son & Co.

Bark Emma, (Ital.,) Cassena, Dunkirk 61 ds., in ballast to order.

Bark Montezuma, Hammond, Turks Island 12 ds., with salt to T. T. Dwight.

Brig Excelsior, Prudden, (of and from Bermuda) 6 ds., with mdse. to McCoil & Frith.

Brig Eleanor Miller, (of Nassau, N. P.,) Matthews, Nassau, N. P., 13 ds., with cotton, etc., to F. T. Mantell & Bartow. 9th inst., off Barnegat, signalized a Spanish schr. bound N., with loss of foremast.

Brig Almore, (of Waldoboro,) Winchenbach, Laguna 30 ds., with logwood to Metcalf & Duncan. Has been 12 days north of Hatteras. Left no American vessels.

Brig Maria Theresa, (Br., of Gibralter,) Dassoy, Masagan 46 ds., with wool to Munssinger & Pitsipple.

Brig Minstrel, Tardiff, Bermuda 6 ds., in ballast to G. F. Bulley.

Brig Magrieo, Roche, Lisbon 42 ds., with salt, oil, etc., to L. E. Amsinck & Co.

Brig R. B. Minturn, (of Yarmouth, N. S.,) Dook, Cow Bay, C. B., 17 ds., with coal to J. W. Braine.

Brig Tangier, Sawyer, Bangor 9 ds., with lumber to Godfrey & Holyoke.

Brig Lizabel, Reynolds, Lingan, C. B., 11 ds., with coal to C. & E. J. Peters.

Brig Ollo, (Br.,) Willetts, Lingan, C. B., 15 ds., with coal to Brett, Son & Co.

Brig L. & W. Armstrong, Bourne, Mayaguez, P. R., via New-Haven, in ballast to L. & W. Armstrong, of New-Haven.

Schr. Sultan, (Br.,) Dickron, Halifax 7 ds., with fish to T. Woodward.

Schr. Lightboat, Clark, Bangor 8 ds., with shooks to master.

Schr. Carroll, Crocker, Machias 6 ds., with laths to F. Talbot & Co.

Schr. Clara Norton, Gray, Bangor 6 ds., with lumber to order.

Schr. Frank Maria, Barber, Bangor 10 ds., with lumber to Godfrey & Holyoke.

Schr. A. Sawyer, Bean, Bangor 10 ds., with lumber to master.

Schr. New-York, Goodsell, Boston 3 ds., with mdse. to J. C. Dayton & Co.

Sloop Oliver Ames, Ames, French, Taunton, nails.

Sailed.

Steamship Morning Star, for New-Orleans.

Steamships Fulton and Albany.

Ship Cerisgs, (Br.)

Bark Neptune, (Aust.,) Drago, (Aust.,) Agatha, Wilhelm Pisker, (Prus.,) Salem, (Br.,) H. Helmrich.

Brigs Betty Stjuke, Maria, Kolnigen Elizabeth, Teresiba, (Br.,) S. Duncan, San Olaf, Morning Star, (Br.,) Gold Hunter, (Br.,) Anna E. Jordan, (Br.)

Schooners M. E. Banks, C. T. Holmes, James W. Lawrence, Mary Jane, Jacob Birdsall, Holmes, W. N. Allen, Arrow, (Br.,) Springbok, Anna E. Glover, Garibaldi.

INSTRUCTION.

RUTGERS FEMALE INSTITUTE,
Nos. 435, 437 and 439 (between 41st and 42d sts.) 5th-av., New-York,

Will enter its ninety-eighth academic term Wednesday, Sept. 9.

The Institute embraces three departments: the preparatory, academic, and collegiate.

The Post Graduate Course will commence the 14th of October, and continue through a session of thirty weeks.

For further information apply at the Institute or address H. M. PIERCE, President.

MISS HAINES AND MADEMOISELLE de JANON
Respectfully inform their friends and the public that their ENGLISH AND FRENCH BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL
For Young Ladies and Children,
No. 10 GRAMERCY PARK,
Will reopen THURSDAY, Sept. 24.

THE RIVERDALE INSTITUTE,
FOR YOUNG LADIES,
AT RIVERDALE ON THE HUDSON,
Will commence its first term on MONDAY, 19th October next, under the rectorship of Rev. WM. C. LEVERETT, M. A., now of Newport, R. I.

The fact that this Institution is founded by the Trustees for the superior education of their own daughters, and not for pecuniary gains, offers more than ordinary guarantees that the patronage of the establishment will be turned solely to the advantage of its pupils.

The buildings of the Institute are on spacious and elevated grounds, and are being fitted with all the modern improvements which can add to the health and comfort of the occupants. The schoolrooms, dormitories, &c., are large and well ventilated, heated by steam, and lighted by gas. The location is picturesque, salubrious, and retired; distance from New-York City 10 miles, or half an hour's ride from 30th-st. Station of the Hudson River Railroad.

REFERENCE BY PERMISSION TO
Rt. Rev. H. Potter, D.D., LL.D., New-York,
Rt. Rev. T. M. Clark, D.D., Rhode Island.
Rt. Rev. Geo. Burgess, D.D., Maine.
Rt. Rev. J. Williams, Connecticut.
Rev. W. A. Muhlenberg, D.D., New-York,
Rev. A. B. Carter, D.D., Yonkers, N. Y.
Rev. D. R. Brewer, Yonkers, N. Y.
Further references, circulars, &c., by application to R. F. Spaulding, Secretary, No. 53 Park-place, New-York; S. D. Babcock, President, No. 3 Nassau-st., New-York.

THE COLLEGIATE SCHOOL.
No. 71 WEST FOURTEENTH-ST., corner 6th-ave. Now in its 44th year, reopens on MONDAY, Sept. 7, with every advantage for the education of youth, in both the elementary and higher branches, in ancient and modern languages, book-keeping, and all other departments of a complete school course. Pupils are received at all ages, and thoroughly prepared for college or business.

Reference is made to the Faculties of Columbia College and the New-York University. Also to the following gentlemen, whose sons have attended the school the past year: Rev. Drs. Hatfield and Reach, Rev. E. E. Rankin, Rev. C. K. Imbrie and Judge Fink, of Jersey City; Hon. Wm. F. Havemeyer, Dr. H. W. B. Woolhull, George Manley, Esq., James Marsh, Esq., Edward S. Jaffray, Esq., Peter S. Hoe, Esq., William H. Webb, Esq., and many others, whose names, together with strong commendatory letters, will be found in the circular. Parents are invited to call.

G. P. QUACKENBOS, Rector.

BROOKLYN POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE,
LIVINGSTON-ST.
The Ninth Annual Session will commence on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 9.
New students will be examined on MONDAY and TUESDAY.
This Institution provides a full and thorough course of education in Mathematics, Languages and Physical Science. Instruction is also given in Vocal Music, Drawing, Calisthenics and Military Drill.
Students from abroad will be accommodated with a good home and careful supervision.
Catalogues may be obtained at the Institute.
ISAAC N. FROTHINGHAM, President.
Josiah O. Low, Secretary.

REMOVAL.
The lecture and recitation rooms of
THE NEW-YORK HIGH SCHOOL
are removed to EBBITT HALL, Nos. 55, 57, 59 and 61 West 33d-st., between 5th and 6th avs. For light, space and ventilation, as well as for beauty and convenience of arrangement, the accommodations are unequaled. The department of French is under the personal direction of Mr. A. BERNARD. The Classical and Scientific departments are, as hitherto, under the charge of Mr. REDFIELD. The Primary department is under the careful supervision of both of the principals. The Boarding department remains at Nos. 1,127 and 1,129 Broadway. The Fall term commences on TUESDAY, Sept. 15.

MISS HAVENS'
BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES,
NO. 250 MADISON-AV.,
Will be reopened on TUESDAY, Sept. 15.
The French Department will be under the care of a Parisian lady of high culture and attainments, resident in the family.
Miss HAVENS will be at home after Sept. 1.

BENJAMIN MASON'S
COMMERCIAL AND MILITARY BOARDING-SCHOOF, Yonkers, N. Y.
For making boys intelligent, healthy, Christian MEN. Circulars No. 39 Nassau-st. and No. 574 Broadway.

MR. GEORGE C. ANTHON'S
CLASSICAL FRENCH AND ENGLISH SCHOOL,
No. 204 4th-av., corner 26th-st. Opens Sept. 9.

SELECT FRENCH AND ENGLISH PROTESTANT SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES, No. 30 West 20th-st., opposite Trinity Chapel—This school, under the direction of Mlle. ROSTAN, of Paris, will be reopened on THURSDAY, Sept. 17. The valuable assistance of Prof. A. Mills has been secured, and parents will find a most thorough and comprehensive course of instruction, designed to combine an accomplished English education with the practical knowledge of the French and other modern languages.

Special attention paid to drawing, painting, music, and elocution. A few young ladies are received in the family, and share in all the comforts and privileges of a pleasant home. For further information, testimonials, &c., apply to Mlle ROSTAN, No. 30 West 20th-st. Circulars sent if desired.

JAMES D. CLARK'S (LATE CLARK & BROWNELL'S) CLASSICAL AND ENGLISH SCHOOL—No. 139 Congress-st., near Clinton, Brooklyn.—The subscriber, late senior partner in the firm of Clark & Brownell, will reopen this School on Thursday, Sept. 10. Boys prepared for college or for business.
Circulars may be obtained at the School at any time, and the Principal may be seen there during the week previous to the opening.
JAMES D. CLARK, A. M.

RAVENSWOOD INSTITUTE, L. I.—Resumes Sept. 14. Mrs. M. M. JONES receives ten pupils, who enjoy every academic advantage conferred by City schools of the highest pretensions; combined with the beneficial influences of a secluded position, and a private family circle. Circulars at Mr. LOW'S, No 823 Broadway.

UNION INSTITUTE, NO. 62 EAST 22D-ST.—The Fall term of this select school for young ladies and misses will open Sept. 14. English branches, music, languages, drawing and painting; private class for boys, and a primary department by competent teachers. For further particulars inquire of MRS. RUSTON or MISS MALLORY, Principals.

FORT WASHINGTON FRENCH INSTITUTE, 70th-st. and Kings Bridge road. French is the language of the school. Spanish, German, English branches, commercial studies, classics, higher mathematics; preparatory course to college and West Point. Reopens Sept. 7. Circulars at No. 57 Cedar-st. and No. 913 Broadway. LESPINASSE & ESTEVEZ, Principals.

STAMFORD, CONN.—MISS TUCKER RECEIVES twenty young ladies to educate, assisted by German and French resident governesses and by eminent Professors from New-York. References—Rt. Rev. John Williams, D. D., Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, Middletown, Conn., and Rev. W. Mitchell, Rector, Stamford, Conn. For particulars, &c., apply to the Principal.

INSTRUCTION IN FANCY DRAWING and painting, mechanical and military draughting, including triangulations or horn-work on fortification, mapping, &c. Samples of work may be seen at No. 61 Chambers-st. JAMES P. McLEAN, Civil Engineer, late of U. S. N. Ordnance Dept. Classes in Schools.

ENGLEWOOD INSTITUTE FOR YOUNG LADIES, Englewood, N. J. Fifty minutes from New-York City by the Northern Railroad of New-Jersey. Fall term commences Sept. 23.
J. A. FOWLER, }
W. B. DWIGHT, } Principals.

MISS A. VAN WAGENEN'S BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES—No. 53 West 33d-st., will reopen on TUESDAY, Sept. 15. Miss V. W. will be at home after Sept. 1, to receive applications for pupils. Written communications before that time will meet with prompt attention.

MRS. H. DANA WARD, SUCCESSOR TO Mrs. GIBSON, begs to announce that the English and French Boarding and Day School, No. 40 Union-square, will be opened TUESDAY, Sept. 15. The same masters will be retained, and course of studies pursued.

FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH DAY and family school and kindergarten, No. 79 East 18th-st. MRS. HALLOCK, with enlarged rooms and increased facilities for education, will reopen her school on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 16.

FAIRFIELD FAMILY SCHOOL FOR TWELVE BOYS, Easton, Conn. English, classical and military. HENRY W. SIGLAR, A. M., Principal. Commences Sept. 16. For circulars, apply to the Principal.

FRENCH CLASSES AND LECTURES BY E. FEZANDIE—No. 10 Union-square; arrangements taken with schools or private parties for courses of lessons, or lectures on history, literature, philosophy, social science.

THE MISSES GREEN WILL REOPEN their school for young ladies at No. 146b-av., first door from Washington-square, on TUESDAY, Sept. 22.

MISS MEEKER'S BOARDING AND DAY School for young ladies will reopen on MONDAY, Sept. 14, at No. 32 West 40th-st.

INSTRUCTION.

CHARLIER FRENCH INSTITUTE, NOS. 48 and 50 East 24th-st., near Madison Park, reopens Sept. 22. Boarding and Day School. Pupils prepared for West Point, the Navy School, College and business. American pupils obliged to learn and speak French without any interruption in their other studies. Prospectus to be had, containing the names of the pupils and those of their parents for the past eight years. There is a Primary Department.
PROF. ELIE CHARLIER, Director.

GARDNER INSTITUTE.—BOARDING AND Day School for Young Ladies, No. 16 East 28th-st., will reopen Sept. 15. C. H. GARDNER, Principal.

MRS. G. ANTHON CALLENDER'S FRENCH and English Boarding and Day School, No. 32 East 21st-st., will reopen on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 23.

FEMALE COLLEGE,
BORDENTOWN, N. J.,
One of the most flourishing Institutions in the country. Special attention paid to the common and higher branches of English, and superior advantages furnished in Vocal and Instrumental Music. French taught by a native, and spoken in the family. For catalogues, address Rev. JOHN H. BRAKELEY, A. M., President.

MISS REES'S
FRENCH AND ENGLISH MORNING CLASS FOR YOUNG LADIES,
No. 83 State-st., Brooklyn, will open MONDAY, Sept. 14. A thorough English education will be combined with a practical knowledge of the French language, which will be spoken in the school. The French department will be under the special care of a Parisian lady.

MR. WILLIAM J. NEVIUS'
ENGLISH AND FRENCH
PRIVATE BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL,
No. 19 West 15th-st.,
Will be reopened on MONDAY, the 14th of September inst. The French language will receive especial attention from a resident teacher from Paris.

MRS. OGDEN HOFFMAN'S
FRENCH AND ENGLISH
Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies. No. 17 West 38th-st., will reopen on Sept. 23.
Mrs. HOFFMAN will be at home after the 1st of September. Before that date, all applications by letter will be promptly answered.

EAGLESWOOD MILITARY ACADEMY,
PERTH AMBOY, N. J., two hours from New-York via Staten Island Ferry and Railroad, at 7 and 9 A. M. Visitors can see the School now in full operation. Dress Parade every WEDNESDAY, P. M. Catalogues, &c., at No. 27 Park-place. MAROUS SPRING, Proprietor.

MISS AIKENS' SEMINARY,
STAMFORD, CONN.
The Fall term commences Sept. 9.
For circulars apply to PRINCIPAL.

MRS. AND MISS STEERS'
FRENCH AND ENGLISH
Boarding and Day-School for young ladies, No. 56 West 11th-st., will reopen September 22.

MORRIS FEMALE INSTITUTE,
MORRISTOWN, NEW-JERSEY.
A select Boarding and Day-School. For circulars, address C. G. HAZELTINE.

MR. McELLIGOTT'S SCHOOL,
No. 15 East 31st-st., between 5th and Madison avs., Will be reopened on MONDAY, Sept. 14

$47 PAYS BOARD AND TUITION IN COMMON ENGLISH 14 WEEKS AT HUDSON RIVER INSTITUTE, Claverack, Columbia County, N. Y. Sixteen experienced instructors in the English, normal, classical, (a class of sixteen are now preparing to enter Yale in '64,) French, musical, painting, scientific, military and commercial departments. (Both sexes.) Term opens Sept. 18. Write for a catalogue. Rev. ALONZO FLACK, A. M., Principal.

RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, TROY, N. Y.—This Institution is now in full operation, and offers superior advantages for the thorough study of the Natural Sciences, of Military Science, and of Civil, Mechanical and Topographical Engineering. The Fortieth Annual Session will commence on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 16, 1863. Further information, with the ANNUAL REGISTER, may be obtained from
Prof. CHARLES DROWNE, Director.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL.—The Sixth Annual Term of this Institution commences at the Law School Buildings, No. 37 Lafayette-place, New-York, on THURSDAY, Oct. 1. Graduates of the Law School are admitted to the Bar without further examination. Catalogues containing full information can be obtained on application at No. 37 Lafayette-place, or by add. essing THEODORE W. DWIGHT,
Professor of Municipal Law.

UNION HALL FEMALE SEMINARY, JAMAICA, L. I., MISS HELEN M. G. STEVENS, PRINCIPAL.—The 45th year of this popular Institution, so long and favorably known as "Miss Adrain's Seminary for Young Ladies," opens on the 16th of September. Circulars, with full information, as to terms, &c., may be had upon application at the seminary, personally or by letter.

THE MISSES BUCKNALL'S ENGLISH and French Boarding and Day School for young ladies, No. 3 West Thirty-seventh-st., second door from the Fifth-av., will reopen Sept. 15. The Misses BUCKNALL are assisted by Profes ors of eminent ability. In the Primary Department little girls are carefully instructed in the preparatory studies.

TROY FEMALE SEMINARY.—THIS INstitution offers the accumulated advantages of fifty years of successful operation.
Every facility is provided for a thorough course of useful and ornamental education, under the direction of a corps of more than twenty professors and teachers.
For Circulars, apply to
JOHN H. WILLARD, Troy, N. Y.

BEDFORD FEMALE INSTITUTE, AT BEDford, Westchester Co., N. Y., in charge of Mr. and Mrs. R. BOLTON, will reopen WEDNESDAY, Sept. 23. Location healthy and retired. Grounds extensive and well shaded. Great attention given to the solid as well as ornamental branches. Terms only $180 per school year. Extras moderate. Circulars obtained of Mr. R. S. Bates, Jr., Phœnix Fire Insurance Company, No. 62 Wall-st.

BROOKLYN.—FRENCH AND ENGLISH INstitute for Young Gentlemen—Grand-av., near Fulton. Fall term opens Monday, September 7. Pupils prepared for College or business. Catalogue, with full details, to be had. There is a primary department. L. J. SIMONIN, Principal.

DR. F. BERTHET AND D. G. FANNING'S school, No. 320 Broadway, cor. of 21st-st., late Parker & Berthet, will open Sept. 7, with primary department and gymnasium. For circulars inquire of Lockwood, No. 411 Broadway, Christern No. 768, and at the Institution.

WM. B. LEGGETT'S CLASSICAL, FRENCH AND ENGLISH SCHOOL, No. 1,214 Broadway, one door below 30th-st., will be reopened on Monday, Sept. 14. Circulars at the school, at Lockwood's, No. 411 and Crowen's, No. 843 Broadway, or at the residence of the Principal, No. 234 10th-st.

POUGHKEEPSIE FEMALE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE.—The thirtieth term will commence on Sept. 2 next. For boarders $210 per year. Catalogues sent on request. Rev. C. D. RICE, Principal. RICE & COFFIN, Proprietors.

JOHN McMULLEN'S SCHOOL—AT NO. 900 Broadway, corner of 20th-st., will be reopened on Monday, Sept. 7. For circulars inquire at Lockwood's, No. 411, Crowen's, No. 843, and Price's, No. 884 Broadway.

LAW SCHOOL OF NEW-YORK UNIVERSITY, Washington-square, will open on Sept. 14, under the instruction of THOS. W. CLERKE, LL.D., and WM. B. WEDGWOOD, LL.D. Circulars obtained at University Law Library.

MAPLEWOOD YOUNG LADIES' INSTITUTE, Pittsfield, Mass., commences its 45th semi-annual session Oct. 1, 1863. Address Rev. C. V SPEAR, Principal, for Circulars.

MME. NAPOLEON RESPECTFULLY IN-FORMS the parents of her pupils that she will reopen her French and English school on MONDAY, Sept. 14, at No. 184 Clinton-st., Brooklyn.

THE UNIVERSITY GRAMMAR SCHOOL opens its twenty-seventh year Sept. 7. Pupils received from 7 years and upward. The 7th-av cars pass the school.

**MRS. BROWN